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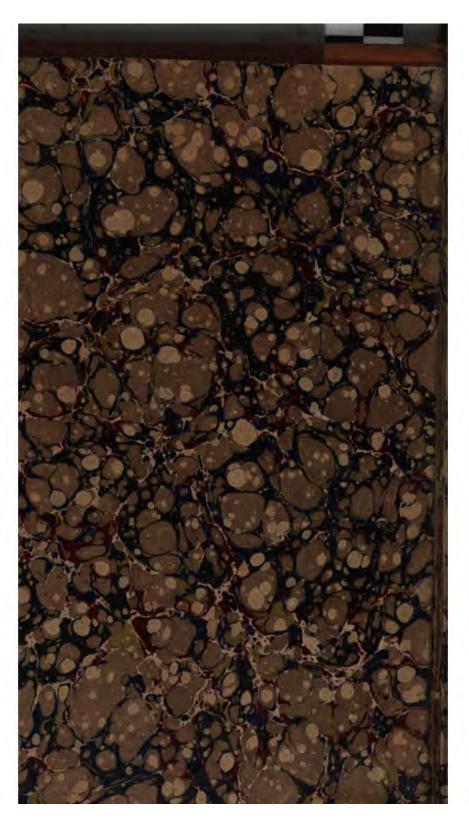
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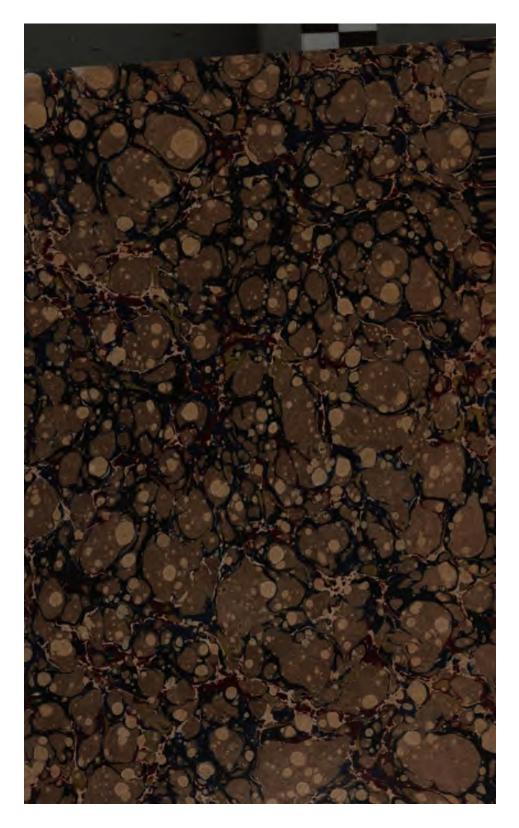
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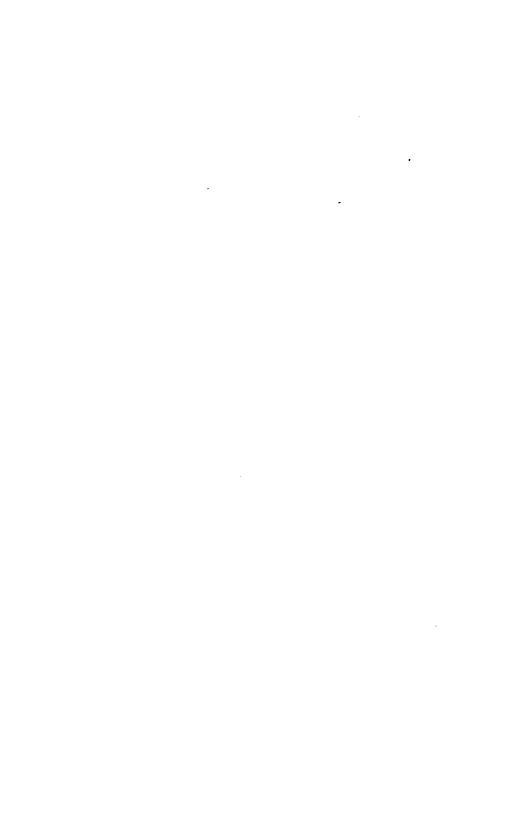
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# Complaynt of Scotlande

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1549.

### WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

The Just Declaration of Benry VIII (1542),

The Exhortacion of James Harrysone, Scottisheman (1547),

The Epistle of the Ford Protector Somerset (1548),

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with Introduction and Glossary

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

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### CONTENTS.

									PAGI
BPECIM	EN FOLIC	)	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	vi
INTROE	UCTION	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	vii
THE CO	OMPLATN'	T OF SC	OTLAND	•	•••		•••	•••	1
APPEN	DIX I. TI	HE JUST	DECLA	RATION	OF HE	NRY VII	1	•••	191
"	II. TI	HE EXH	ORTACIO	ON OF	JAMES	HARRY	son, s	COT-	
		TISHE	MAN	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	207
"	III. TI	E EPIS	TLE OF	THE LO	RD PRO	TECTOR	SOMER	SET	237
"	IV. TI	HE EPITO	ME OF	NICHOL	AS BODR	UGAN A	LIAS AD	BMA	247
GLO88A	RIAL INI	DEX	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	257
INDEX	OF NAM	ES AND	SUBJEC	тв	•••				297

# THE COMPLAYNT

it dois of prefumptione or vane gloir. thy cheretabil correctione maye be ane prouocatione to gar me fludye mair attentiulye in the nyxt verkis that i inted to fet furtht, the quhilk i beleif in gode fal be verray neceffair tyl al them that defiris to lyue verteouslye indurād the fchort tyme of this oure fragil peregrinatione, & fa fayr veil.

The complaynt of scotland.

# PTOVR DECLARIS THE cause of the mutations of mo-

narches.

S the hie monarchis, lordfichips, and autoriteis, ar flablit be the infinite diuyn ordinace, and mentemit be the femperemal prouidēs, ficlyik ther ruuyne cummis be the fentence gyffin be the fouerane confel of the diuyne fapiens, the quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie trone of ther imperial dominations, ande garris

# OF SCOTLAND.

them fal in the depe fosse of feruitude, and Regrui s ther magnificens in ruuyne, ande causs coque-gite in sgir rivours to be coquest, ande til obeye ther vm-gite in sgir undirectis be dreddour, quhome of be sit propter for thai commādit be autorite. This decreit iniusticias procedis of the diuyne iustice, be rason that & vainterprincis ande vthirs of autorite becumis am- sor dobor bitius ande presumpteous, throucht grite su- perfluite of veltht: ther for he dois chesse the Eccle. so be the abstractione of that superfluite. that is

to fay, he possessis wthir pure pepil that knauis his gudnes, vitht the famyn reches that he hes tane fra the that hes arrogantly misknauen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane masse of tis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis, ande alse of the mettal ande mater of the smal pottis he formis grit pottis. this exempil may be applyit to the subuertions ande mutations of realmis ande dominions, ande of al varidly prosperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis & ncressis quhil thai be ascendit to the perfyit stryntht of men: bot ther efter, tha begyn to lecresse ande declinis til eild ande to the dede, mettal diuerse pottis of defferent fassons. & Igne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai pleyse hym nocht, ande he makkis smal pot-

### INTRODUCTION.

I. CIRCUMSTANCES out of which the	The subseque
Complaynt arose. State of Scotland	Monolog
from Flodden to Pinkie-Intro-	The Sea se
duction of Reformed Doctrines-	The Cosmo
French and English parties-Ap-	The Tales
pearance of the Complaynt-its	The Songs
purpess page vii	The Tunes
II. THE WORK:	The Music
§ 1. External. Four copies of the	The Dance
original edition extant XVI	The Flower
Account of these zvii	III. LANGUAGE
Description of the book xix	Middle Scote
Its cancellations and substitu-	Southern Va
tions xxi	French influ
Rogistor xxii	IV. The AUTHOR
§ 2. Internal. Plan of the work	ing .
xxiii	Printed abre
The Dedication xxiv	Attributed t
The Prologue to the Reader	2200.000.00
XXV	Attributed t
The Exhortation or Complaint	Attributed t
of the Author xxvii	desay .
Monologue of the Author (as	Conclusion .
originally planned) xxxi	V. REPRINTS:
The Author's Vision of Dame	Leydon's (18
Scotia and her three sons	The present
XXXiv	

The subsequent additions to	the
Monologue page la	
The Sea scene	
	xxii
	xiii
The Songs lx	xxii
	xvii
The Musical Instruments	
	cciii
The Flowers and Herbs	
L LANGUAGE of the Work:	
	ko <del>vi</del>
	cii
	civ
The AUTHOR and place of Pr	
ing	ш.
Printed abroad	cvi
Attributed to Sir James In	gus viii
Attributed to Vedderburn	
	CX
Attributed to Sir David I	
	xiii
	exvi
REPRINTS:	
	czvi
	xvii
The Appendix Documents	exix.

### I. CIRCUMSTANCES OUT OF WHICH THE COMPLAYNT AROSE.



O understand fully the position of affairs which gave birth to the *Complaynt of Scotland*, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the political history of the country during the period which immediately preceded the appearance of that work. Of the three

centuries of Scottish history which elapsed between the struggle for

National Independence under Robert Bruce, and the accession to the English crown of James VI., nearly a century and a half were occupied by the reigns of infant sovereigns; during the last two centuries of the period, or from the accession of James I., regencies de jure or de facto covered a space of one hundred and twenty years. Not one of the seven sovereigns whose reigns extend over this period had reached the age of manhood when called to the throne; several of them were helpless infants when the crown devolved upon them, by the violent and premature death of their predecessors. Not without reason do we find writer after writer taking up as the burden of his wail, "We to the realme that hes ouir zoung ane kyng!"

for the chronic condition of the country was one of anarchy, confusion, and outrage, fitfully varied by brief intervals of more or less vigorous efforts in the direction of order by rulers whose footing was scarcely secured before they fell victims to their own abounding activity, leaving the country to another ten or twenty years of misrule, destined in like manner to task all the energies of their successors. That the kingdom was at all able to maintain its independence through these centuries of trouble, was owing to two No English king after Edward I. devoted himself to the subjugation of Scotland with the singleness of purpose which marked that indefatigable monarch; in the early part of the period the more glittering prize of the crown of France, at a later date the Wars of the Roses, fully occupied the attention of his successors. much greater importance than even the distractions of England, was the offensive and defensive league between Scotland and France, by which these two nations made common cause against their common foe, and through which, even after England became once more united and powerful, her efforts against Scottish independence were effectively checkmated. This

> "weill keipit ancient alliance, Maid betuix Scotland and the realme of France,"

provided that neither country should ever make a separate peace with England, but that when England attacked either, she was herself to be invaded by the other, while a defined number of men-atarms were to be sent to the assistance of the country attacked. was in compliance with the terms of this arrangement, that the invasion of France by Henry VIII. in 1512 was at once followed by the invasion of England by James IV., who, as is well known, fell with the whole chivalry of his kingdom on the field of Branxton near Flodden. The infancy of his son and heir, a child of eighteen months, gave full scope to all the elements of disorder, which the preceding twenty years had in some measure composed. During the scramble of two or three rivals for the regency, and for possession of the person of the infant prince as the symbol of authority, the barons, unawed by any superior, assumed prerogatives of more than sovereign power, the ecclesiastical dignitaries stretched their pretensions to unparalleled limits, while the body of the clergy revelled in the grossest depravity, only equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered the miserable commons. To crown the edifice of suffering, the uncivilized clans of the Highlands,—who were to the Scottish kingdom of that day much what the Indians of the Prairies are to the western settlers of America now,—and the borderers or dwellers on the English marches, whom chronic familiarity with the ravages of fire and sword had rendered scarcely less savage and barbarous, carried on their depredations with impunity in the very heart of the most settled districts of the country.

At length, after sixteen years of what must have been to the industrious and productive part of the community well nigh the unsounded bottom of misery, the young king, James V., having effected his escape from the clutches of the particular noble brigand (an Earl of Angus he was) who then held him, and wrought his own pleasure in his name, at once began with a vigorous hand to attack the gigantic abuses which he found around him. The power of the barons was curbed, the highlanders and borderers reduced by summary examples of severity to a wholesome dread of law, while the intolerance, greed, and shameless immorality of the clergy were, with the approbation and countenance of the king himself, exposed with scathing sarcasm by the Lord Lyon King at Arms. That little was done practically to reform the Church, appears to have been due less to the king's private convictions, than to political exigencies which

impelled him in religious, as in secular matters, to side with France rather than with his uncle, Henry VIII., and, moreover, to the fact that in his struggle with the temporal barons he found support and counsel in prominent members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Had he lived, the forecastings of Lyndesay's muse, which ceased not to remind him in acceptable terms that now that temporal abuses were reformed.

"Swa is there nocht, I vnderstand, Without gude ordour in this land Except the spiritualitie Prayand thy Grace thareto haue ee,"

incline us to believe that the Reformation in Scotland as well as in England might have started with the impress of a royal hand. From the contagion of such a king's evil, fortunately for the liberties of Britain, the Scottish Reformation was to be saved. The very energy of the king sowed around him a harvest of troubles. The defeat of Flodden, the most signal and disastrous in the national history, had left in the minds of many in Scotland a conviction that it was time to make an end of this perpetual struggle with England; and now many of the dispossessed and discontented barons took refuge in that country, where they were welcomed and entertained by Henry VIII., in the hope of their one day proving useful to his designs. Some even of the Border clans, in revenge for the rigour with which James had visited their chiefs, transferred their allegiance bodily to Moreover, the reformed doctrines somewhat late in the England. day were beginning to make impression on Scotland, and their adherents, smarting under the fiery persecution that the Bishops were permitted to carry on against heretics, naturally looked to England and its anti-popish king with cordial sympathy. From all these causes there gradually rose in the country an English faction,—a party who would substitute for the ancient close connection with France, an amicable understanding with England, and most of whom would have been willing to see the two kingdoms united under a common head, though they might differ widely as to the means of attaining that desired end.

The animosity of the nation as a whole against "our ald enemois of Ingland" was so much blunted, that when James declared war against that country in 1542, his troops, maintaining that they were ready to defend their country, but not disposed to assist in an invasion of England, mutinied on reaching the frontier at Solway Moss, and being in their confusion and deray attacked by a small English force, fled without striking a blow. The king, already worn out by the difficulties of his position, succumbed under this new disgrace, and died within a few days after, at the age of 30, leaving an infant daughter of eight days old to be the bone of contentions even more disastrous than those which had closed around his own infant cradle.

The aim of Henry VIII. was at once to arrange a marriage between this infant, Mary Stewart, and his son Edward, now in his fifth year. After a good deal of scheming, during which the Scottish barons, who had taken refuge in England, as well as the captives of Solway Moss, were allowed to return home on the understanding that they should assist the English interest, the Earl of Arran. Regent of Scotland, was gained over, and a treaty concluded in August, 1543, arranging for such a marriage when Mary should reach the age of ten. But there was in Scotland at this time a masterspirit more powerful than Arran, in the person of David Beaton, the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrew's, a staunch supporter of French interests, and a cordial hater of everything English, from the English New Testament to the English king. This prelate had gained great influence over the late sovereign, and, according to contemporaries, was the chief cause of his embroilment with England :--- ·

> Sone eftir that, Harye, of Ingland Kyng, Off oure Soueraine desyrit ane commonyng. Off that meiting our Kyng wes weill content, So that in 30rck was sett baith tyme and place: Bot our Prelatis nor I wald neuer consent That he suld se Kyng Harye in the face; Bot we wer weill content, quhowbeit his grace Had salit the sey, to speik with ony vther, Except that kyng, quhilk was his mother brother: Quhair throch par rose gret weir & mortal stryfe, Greit heirschippis, hounger, darth, and desolatioun: On ather syde did mony lose thare lyfe. Geue I wald mak ane trew Narratioun, I causit all that tribulatioun: For tyll tak peace I neuer wald consent, Wythout the kyng of france had bene content.

Duryng this weir war takin presoneris,

Off nobil men fechtyng full furiouslie,

Mony ane Lorde, Barrone, and Bachileris,

Quhar throuch our king tuke sie melancolie

Quhilk draue him to the dede, rycht dulefullie.

Extreme Dolour ouirset did so his hart,

That frome this lyfe, allace! he did depart.

Bot efter that baith strenth and speche was lesit,

Ane paper blank his grace I gart subscryue,

Into the quhilk I wrait all that I plesit

Efter his deth—quhilk lang war tyll discryue.

Throuch that wrytting I purposit, belyue,

With supporte of sum Lordis beneuolens,

In this Regioun tyll haue Preemynens.

Lyndessy, Tragedie of the Cardinall, 97—126.

The confession is put in his mouth by one who, though an avowed enemy, had the amplest means of knowing who pulled the wires of events. The production of the "forged will" referred to did not prevent the elevation of Arran to the regency, but brought the Cardinal himself into prison, and it was during his forced absence from the scene, that the treaty with England was arranged. influence of the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, and a judicious use of French gold, soon restored Beaton to liberty, and he set himself at once to mar the good understanding initiated between the two nations. In accomplishing this, his ends were served only too well by the arrogant and impatient conduct of the English king, who was but half satisfied with a treaty in which he had had to yield many of his first demands, and, above all, failed to obtain immediate possession of "the child." The astute churchman gained the weak Regent over to his views, the treaty was disowned, and the old league with France renewed in all its vigour. If the conduct of the Scottish Estates boded ill for an amicable settlement, the passionate measures immediately taken by Henry VIII. were such as to render it altogether hopeless. Vowing that he would drag "the child" from the strongest fortress the Scots could hold her in, he sent, as a foretaste of his temper, a maritime expedition under the Earl of Hertford. which sacked Leith, burnt Edinburgh to the ground, and plundered and fired the thriving Scottish burghs which crowded the coast of Fife. A division of the army, which carried the work of destruction southward to the banks of the Tweed and Teviot, was encountered

and routed by the Earl of Douglas at Ancrum Moor, but the Scottish army, largely composed of the followers of Lords in the English interest, dispersed without following up their advantage, or even maintaining the defensive. A second razzia of the English on a much larger scale followed in 1545, during which the entire south of Scotland was laid waste, its towns, castles, villages, and farm houses levelled to the ground, and the magnificent abbeys of Tweedside reduced to that ruinous condition in which they still remain. The fortresses allowed to stand were garrisoned by English soldiers, and most of the barons of Teviotdale, Eskdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway, with their clans, made their submission, and were received into English protection as assured Scots. Whatever might be the genuine feeling of these latter toward England, there were some at least of their countrymen who still sympathized with the English. These were the adherents of the Reformation, who, after enjoying some measure of toleration from the Regent at first, had, since the ascendancy of Beaton, again been mercilessly pursued with the faggots and the flame. Common interests drew some of these Reformers to make common cause with the King of England, against the prelate whom both had so much reason to desire out of the way, and . a plot was formed for the death of the Cardinal. The burning for heresy of George Wishart, one of their number, brought their resentment to a climax, and two months after that event a small body of armed men surprised and murdered Beaton in his own castle, which they forthwith held as a refuge for the protestant and English interest in the country. The death of Henry VIII. shortly after caused the results to be other than they expected. The party opposed to England still comprised the great bulk of the nation, and the leading place vacated by the Cardinal was filled by the Queen Dowager, whom a packed meeting of the Estates at Stirling in 1544 had indeed recognized as Governor or Regent, to the exclusion of the facile Arran, whom they formally deposed. Although her position was not regularly recognized till the voluntary abdication of Arran in 1554, she was now generally looked up to as the rightful governor. To back her up, a force of 16 French galleys appeared on the Scottish coast, and in August, 1547, compelled the insurgents,

who had held Beaton's castle for 14 months, to surrender. injunction of Henry VIII. had been that the marriage of his son with the young Queen of Scots, and the union of the kingdoms should be carried through by persuasion or force; but it was not till after the surrender of the Castle of St Andrew's to the French that the Protector Somerset himself invaded Scotland with an army of 15,000 men. At Pinkie-cleuch, near Musselburgh, he was met on the 4th Sept. by a Scottish force, it is said of nearly twice the number, who proved their allegiance to the Catholic faith by saluting their enemies with opprobrious epithets, as "foresworn heretics and infidel louns." In their confidence of victory, the Scots repeated the error of Flodden, and allowed themselves to be drawn from their position of advantage. and, being attacked when still in disorder, were routed with prodigious slaughter. Such was the battle of Pinkie, "which at once renewed the carnage of Flodden and the disgrace of Solway." The sequel was such as to recall the curses of Old Testament story, when what was left by the hail should be consumed by the mildew, and what the mildew left over, the locust should eat; for the twice ravaged country was ravaged yet once more, till one should think . there could not possibly be anything left to destroy. The threat of Henry VIII. to drag the child from any Scottish fortress seemed at length in danger of fulfilment, when the leaders of affairs determined at once to consult her safety, and remove the bait for the "bitter wooing" of the English, by affiancing the princess to the Dauphin of France, and sending her to that country for protection and education. This was safely accomplished in the summer of 1548, while at the same time a large body of French auxiliaries, bringing with them a supply of cannon, for the reduction of the fortresses in English hands, landed in Scotland.

It was while the presence of these foreign auxiliaries formed a nucleus round which his countrymen might once again rally with better hopes of success than had followed their efforts in times by past, that an ardent patriot and staunch adherent of the ancient alliance with France was moved to appeal to his countrymen to cease from their feuds and factious strifes, which had brought the country to so low an ebb, and by showing moderation and rendering

justice to one another, to make common cause against their merciless enemy. Pamphleteering was the order of the day, and England had led the way in carrying on the contest with the pen no less eagerly than with the sword. When Henry VIII. declared war in 1542, he had issued an elaborate vindication of his conduct, detailing the provocations of the Scots, and at the same time raising anew the title of the English kings to the supremacy of Scotland. After the expedition of Hertford, a narrative of "the late Expedicion in Scotland" was printed in London in 1544, to show the calamities which the obstinacy of the Scots had brought upon them. In 1547, just before the battle of Pinkie, "James Harryson, Scottisheman,"—in the eyes of our author, it is to be feared, one of the "renegat Scottis," and probably one of the "Scottismen abuse thre thousand, that hes duelt in Ingland thir fiftye zeir by-past,"-put forth a tract upholding the English claims, and earnestly appealing to his countrymen to vield to them, and let the realms be united in one.2 In 1548, after Pinkie had been fruitlessly won, Somerset sent an Eirenicon, deploring that battle, and trying too late to effect by an appeal to friendship and reason what he had only put farther from his reach by an appeal to arms.3 He carefully avoided any allusion to the old English claims of supremacy; but as if to show that these were still at hand, if persuasion failed, there appeared at the same time from the press of the King's Printer, a tract by Nicholas Bodrugan, alias Adams, addressed to Edward VI., 4 and doubtless with the Protector's sanction, reminding him that though it was all very well to travail to unite Scotland to England by marriage, his majesty's right to the sovereignty of that kingdom remained as undoubted and intact as Finally, Patten, who published the same year a graphic account of the new campaign which culminated at Pinkie, had prefaced the record of Somerset's martial achievements with an eloquent exhortation to his "Countrymen of the North," as he would venture to call them, to bow to the will of the God of battles, and as they were one with their English brethren in language, manners, and interests, to be one with them also in government and allegiance. Some of these numerous appeals must have reached Scotland, all of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix No. I. <sup>2</sup> Appendix II. <sup>3</sup> Appendix III. <sup>4</sup> Appendix IV.

them were probably known to the author of the Complaynt, and it was partly to counteract their influence, as well as to arouse his countrymen, that he now took up his pen. Thus appeared the "Complaynt of Scotland, with an Exhortation to the Three Estates to be vigilant in defence of their public weal;" and the book's own statements assign to its composition the date of the beginning of The author cast his work, after the fashion of the age, into the form of an allegory of Dame Scotia and her three sons, and sought to give each of the Estates of the realm, the Nobility, Spirituality. and Commons, the special exhortation which they needed, and to awaken them to the gravity of the crisis. What direct results may have flowed from his appeal we do not know; no contemporary writer deigns to notice him or his work; but the object which he had at heart was, for the time being at least, accomplished, the country being recovered, bit by bit, by the Scotch and their French allies, till at length an honourable peace, secured in connection with the treaty of Boulogne, between England and France, April, 1550, gave Scotland a breathing-time from its miseries. Perhaps this result may even have been accomplished before the Complaynt left the printer's hands, and may account for the recasting which the author saw fit to give to many portions of his book, and the extraneous attractions which he subsequently added in the "Monologue Recreative of the Author", the interest of which to us now far transcends that of the original and legitimate contents of his main work.

#### II. THE WORK.

#### § 1. EXTERNAL.

Or the book in these circumstances given to the world, only four copies are known to have come down to recent times. Two of these were in the collection of Harley, Earl of Oxford, and in the elaborate Catalogue of his Library<sup>1</sup> published after his death, in order to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae in locos communes distributus cum Indice Auctorum. Londini apud Thomam Osborne, 5 thick vols., 8vo, appearing at intervals from 1743 to 1745. The editors, who do not give their names, are said to have been B. S. Johnson, M. Mattaire, and W. Oldys. In their

acquaint the public with its riches, and, if possible, lead to its being acquired by the nation or some public body, they are thus entered:

In Vol. I. under heading "HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, OCTAVO," Nos. 8341—8394:

No. 8371. Vedderburn's Complainte of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Deffens of their Public Veil. 1549.

In Vol. IV. under heading "Books relating to the Ecclesiastical and Civil History of Scotland, its Parliamentary affairs, Law, Policy, Government, and Trade, Octavo," Nos. 11952—12074.

No. 12070. Vedderburn's Complainte of Scotland, with ane Exoratione to the three Estates to be vigilant in Defence of their public Weel. 1549.

One of these copies was acquired by the British Museum, where its press mark is C. 21. a. The other was secured for the library of the Duke of Roxburgh, where it was when Dr Leyden printed his edition of the Complaynt in 1801. After the dispersion of the Roxburgh collection, it passed successively through the hands of Constable<sup>2</sup> and Heber, was secured by Mr Grenville, and finally with

preface, they say "Our Design like our Proposal is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at very uncommon Expense; it being intended, that the Books shall be distributed into their distinct Classes, and every Class ranged with some regard to the Age of Writers; that every Book shall be accurately described, that the Peculiarities of Editions shall be remarked, and Observations from the Authors of Literary Histories occasionally interposed, that, by this Catalogue, we may inform Posterity, of the Excellence and Value of this great Collection, and promote the Knowledge of scarce Books and elegant Editions."

Mr David Laing, to whose valued assistance I am greatly indebted in tracing the bibliography of the \*Complaynt\*, believes that there was only one copy in Harley's Collection, and that No. 12070 is evidently a repetition of No. 8371, the book still remaining unsold. I am unable to come to this conclusion, which seems inconsistent with the plan of the Catalogue. Mr Laing kindly adds the information that many of the books of this class in Harley's Collection had belonged to Mr James Anderson, Writer to the Signet, who latterly settled in London; and having ruined himself by his great work "Diplomata et Numismata Scotiae," published after his death in 1739, was obliged to sell his own library to Harley.

"The copy from the Roxb. sale, I remember well in its old original binding. It was bought for Mr Archibald Constable, publisher, Edinburgh, for £31 10s. In the Catalogue, it is marked (No. 8734) as manting the Title and 5 pages in the middle; it really wanted the Title only. Mr Constable's private collection was purchased by Mr Thorpe, London, and Mr Heber, to whom

the rest of his library was bequeathed also to the British Museum, where it forms No. 5438 in the Grenville Library. The third and fourth copies were, when Leyden wrote his preliminary dissertation, in the possession of Mr George Paton of the Custom's House, Edinburgh, and of John M'Gowan, Esq., an Edinburgh collector, who died about the beginning of this century. The former of these is now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh; Mr M'Gowan's copy was afterwards acquired by George Chalmers of the Caledonia, and at the sale of the 3rd section of his library in November, 1842, No. 127, the Complaynt of Scotland, Printed circa 1548, was purchased by T. Rodd, a well-known London old bookseller, for £5 5s. A copy, evidently the same, appears in the Catalogue of Mr H. B. Bright's sale in 1845, described as imperfect, wanting all before p. 16.2 It was again purchased by Rodd for £4, but for whom it was bought, and what have been its further fortunes, I have been unable to learn. Leyden, writing in 1801, says, "all four copies were imperfect, but three of them have been completed from each other."8 Having had

Leyden had dedicated his reprint, secured the best part, including this little volume. At Heber's sale, the Complaynt fell to Grenville, and so to the Museum."—D. Laing in private note.

In the Catalogue of Mr Paton's sale, 25 March, 1809, it is thus inaccurately entered: "No. 2722. The Complaynt of Scotland. The most perfect copy extant" (!). It was bought by William Laing, Bookseller, Edinburgh, for £7 10s., and in his Catalogue for 1810, it occurs with this notice, "the leaves are inlaid, and completed from the new edition printed at Edinburgh in 1801." D. Laing.

It is thus described:—No. 4993. The Complaynt of Scotland. n. d. (circa 1550) "This very curious and extremely rare little volume is imperfect (as are all the existing copies), wanting all before page 16, and a portion of the last leaf. Its appearance tempts one to believe it to be the identical copy which Jonathan Oldbuck revelled in the possession of, and which is immortalized by Scott: 'For that mutilated copy of the Complaynt of Scotland, I sat out the drinking of two dozen bottles of strong ale with the late loarned proprietor, who, in gratitude, bequeathed it to me by his last Will.'—The Antiquary, Chap. III."

Meaning, I presume, not that three of them have been completed at the expense of the fourth, the only way in which they could really be "completed from each other," but that their deficiencies have been supplied by transcripts from each other. Yet, that something more than this was done, appears from Ames' Typographical Antiquities, 1790, where it is stated that the "British Museum copy has recently been perfected, except the title page, from another copy in the possession of Mr G. Paton, of the Custom House, Edinburgh; to whom I am greatly indebted for his kind intelligence concerning printing in Scotland." And yet the "Museum copy" is not perfect, while the two leaves

opportunities of fully and carefully examining the three firstmentioned copies, I am able to say that the only imperfection in the Grenville is the want (common to all the four) of the title-page, of which it alone shows a trace, or what is supposed to be a trace (it may be part of the binding), in the shape of a narrow fragment of the inner margin, bearing a small italic long f of the beginning of a line, near the middle of the page. The other Museum copy, C. 21. a., wants, beside the title-page, leaves 59 and 142 of the original foliation, which are supplied, not with perfect accuracy, in writing. That in the Advocate's Library is still more imperfect, wanting leaves 1, 2, 3, 25-30, (47), (50, 51), 35 (57), 36 (58), 47 (67), and 84 (96), sixteen leaves in all, including the title-page. The fourth copy, judging from its description in Bright's sale catalogue, is the most deficient of all. The Grenville copy, in addition to its completeness, is also in excellent condition, but the rebinding of it at some recent period in its present yellow morocco cover has obliterated the tokens of the original excisions, cancellations, and substitutions so well seen in the other British Museum copy, which appears to retain its original binding; the leaves, however, of the latter are in places much decayed and rotten, and so brittle as hardly to bear handling.2 The Advocate's Library copy fails most of all to give an idea of the original form of the book, the leaves being cut out and "inlaid" in a large quarto of the size of the large-paper copies of Leyden's reprint, leaves of which are also interpolated to supply the numerous deficiencies of the old copy.

The original edition of the Complaynt of Scotland, as represented

wanting and supplied in writing are still in Paton's copy in the Advocate's Library. On the other hand, if Leyden meant only "completed" by transcripts, the Roxburgh copy has needed no such completion. Clearly neither his statement nor that of Herbert can be taken in its literal meaning. What they did mean to say I have no idea.

Alas! Troja fuit! since writing these words, I have again had occasion to refer to this copy, and find that it also has in the interim been reclad in yellow morocco, and in consequence, the treatment to which the original sheets were subjected before publication, as shown by the left edges of the excised leaves, the pasting in of substitutes, &c., is much less distinctly traceable than when I handled it in 1869. I could only feel thankful that I had then thoroughly examined these witnesses to the alterations, while they still survived in their original distinctness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the late rebinding these brittle parts have disappeared.

by these surviving copies, is a small book about the size of a modern foolscap 16mo, the pages measuring 41 by 31 inches, and the printed matter 31 by 21 (exclusive of heading, marginal notes, and signatures), consisting of 26 lines Long Primer Roman type. The Headings, which are in capitals of the same size, run across the folio, and are from leaf 2, back, to 7, ANE EPISTIL / TO THE QUENIS GRACE: from 7, back, to 15, Prolog / TO THE REDAR; then, on to the end of the book, simply THE COMPLAYNT / OF SCOTLAND. (In the present edition, for the convenience of the reader, a heading to each chapter has been supplied on the right-hand page.) The titles of the chapters are, with exception of the first (for which see fac-simile), uniformly in italics, small Bourgeois or Brevier, as are also the sidenotes, which are mainly the Scriptural or Classical texts quoted in the subject matter. (They are retained in this edition in italics, and thus distinguished from the modern marginal notes.) exception of the words "To the Excel," on leaf 2, and "The Fyrst CHE," on leaf 15, back, which are larger, no other types than the two mentioned occur; no old English or Black letter is used in the The Roman fount has no w, using a single v instead, nor, so far as the Scotch is concerned, any j, although that letter occurs in numerals, as iij, and Latin words like filij. The letter z does not occur, the 3 being used alike for z and y consonant, as in "3enyth" and "3ou." The italic fount has an open splay z instead, and otherwise agrees with the Roman.

The leaves—not the pages—are numbered in the right-hand top corner, and the sheets (eights) are likewise signed C, C ij, C iij, C iiij. A comparison of these shows that the work, as originally printed off, consisted of 144 leaves, or 18 sheets of 8, the signatures running from A to S. But before his work emerged to light, the author saw fit to make numerous important alterations in it, on the reasons for which we can now only speculate. Any how, they entailed the cancellation of no fewer than thirty-three of the original leaves, and the substitution of thirty-seven others, which in one of the Museum copies, as already mentioned, are seen to be pasted in on a narrow edge of the original, and are moreover distinguished by a difference in the paper, being generally thinner and harder than the original

leaves, so that on them the ink has not spread so much, and consequently the print looks paler and cleaner. It is worthy of notice also that it is these inserted leaves which in C. 21. a. have become so brittle and rotten, as already mentioned. The new leaves do not at all correspond in number to their predecessors, for while in some cases a single original leaf has been replaced by a new one, bearing the same number, in others 2, 3, 4, 6, or 9 leaves have been cut out, and only one inserted to bridge over the hiatus or close the chapter, leaving a gap in the paging; and in one notable instance a single leaf is cut out, and no fewer than 23 leaves interpolated, being the greater part of the "Monolog Recreative," with the lists of animals and their cries, the sea scenes, the shepherd's cosmographical lecture, the lists of tales, songs, dances, musical instruments, and herbs. these supposititious leaves the first is numbered 31, leaving 22 leaves unnumbered before 32. The signatures are similarly interrupted, the first page of each sheet of the interpolation being marked simply with an \*, while the regular series is resumed with the original The following is a list of these alterations.

One leaf 31 (D 7) cut out, and 23 leaves inserted, the first of which is numbered 31, the rest being unnumbered. The inserted leaves consist of 2 sheets of 8, and 1 of 7 leaves, which have no signatures, the beginning of each sheet being marked with an \* instead

Leaf 32 (D 8) follows these, and is pasted in the place of the last leaf of the third \* sheet.

Three leaves, 37, 38, 39 (E 5, 6, 7), cut out, and one leaf substituted, numbered 37.

Six leaves, 47 to 52 (F 7 to G 4), cut out; one leaf substituted, numbered 47.

Four leaves, 71 to 74 (I 7 to K 2), cut out; one leaf substituted, numbered 71.

Four leaves, 112 to 115 (O 8 to P 3), apparently cut out; five leaves substituted, numbered 112 to 116; the original 116 and 117 remain, so that there are two leaves numbered 116. The inserted leaves have no signatures, nor is the second 116 (P iiij) signed.

Nine leaves, 118 to 126 (P 6 to Q 6), cut out; one leaf substituted, numbered 126.

Two leaves, 137, 138 (S i, S ii), cut out; two leaves substituted with same numbers and signatures.

Three leaves, 140 to 142 (S iiij, 5, 6), cut out; two leaves substituted, numbered 69, 116, (!) no signature.

One leaf, 144 (S 8), cut out, and replaced by unnumbered leaf, bearing "Tabula" of chapters.

The result of these various excisions and insertions is, that the numbers on the leaves, and the signatures of the sheets, do not at all correspond to the form of the book, as it finally appeared, containing 148 leaves, of which the following is the Register

Signatures.	Leaves numbered.	Actual No. reckoning in order.	
<b>A</b> 1—8	1—8	1—8	A, leaf 1, the title page, no longer exists in any copy.
В 1—8	9—16	9—16	B ij, iij, iiij, are errone- ously signed A ij, iij, iiij.
C 1—8	1724	1724	
D 1—6	25—30	25—30	D 7 unrepresented, D 8 see after * sheets.
1st • (1—8)	31 & 7 unnumbered	(81—38)	
2nd • (1—8)	eight "	(39-46)	1
8rd • (1—7)	seven "	(47—58)	
D 8	82	(54)	takes the place of (3rd * 8) cut out.
E 1-5	83—37 (38—39 omitted)	(55—59)	,
E 8	40	(60)	
F 17	41-47	(61—67)	1
	(48—52 omitted)	(,	ł
G 5—8	53-56	(68—71)	
H 1—8	5764	(72—79)	
I 1-7	65—71	(80—86)	
	(72—74 omitted)	(00 00)	
K 8—8	75—80	(87—92)	
L 1—8	81—88	(98—100)	L iii has no signature.
M 1—8	8996	(101—108)	
N 1-8	97-104	(109-116)	1
01-8	105—112	(117—124)	
P 1-4	118-116	(125-128)	1
P 4 bis-5	116 bis, 117	(129, 180)	P iiii has no signature.
	(118125 omitted)	, , ,	
Q 6—8	126—128	(131138)	1 In the Harleian copy (C 21. a.)
B 1—8	129—186	(184—141)	the leaves are so numbered by a
8 1—3	187139	(142-144)	recent hand in pencil; in this edition, in references, the actual
8 5—8	69, 116, 143, and one unnumbered	,	number of the leaf is added to the soi disast number, within parentheses.

### § 2. INTERNAL.

The Complaynt of Scotland consists of two principal parts, viz. the author's Discourse concerning the affliction and misery of his country, and his Dream of Dame Scotia and her Complaint against her three sons. These are, with rather obvious art, connected together by what the writer terms his Monologue Recreative, in which he relates the circumstances that interrupted his discourse, and led to his beholding the Vision. In revising his work before it was published, the author took advantage of this interruption to his theme, to introduce what he knew of Cosmogony, Botany, Naval Architecture, Native Songs, Dances, and popular Tales, under colour of having had these brought under his notice during his "recreative" ramble. Preliminary to all these, is "Ane Epistil to the Quenis Grace," dedicating to Mary of Guise this first production of his pen, and a "Prolog to the Redar," wherein the author apologizes first for writing at all, and then for using "domestic Scots langage."

I proceed to consider these various divisions in the order in which they come in the Book, leaving, however, the extraneous contents of the "Monologue" to the end.

The "Epistil to the Kingis Grace" prefixed by Sir David Lyndesay to his Dreme, is addressed not to the infant Queen Mary now in France, but to the Queen-Mother Mary of Guise, who, as we have seen in the Historical introduction, now held de facto the office of Regent or Governor, to which the abdication of Arran a few years later gave her undisputed title. Elevated by his subject, the author begins in a florid and highly metaphorical style to extol the heroic virtues of his patroness, "the Margareit and Perle of Princessis," and her services in relieving the unutterable ills of his poor country, scourged at once by the three plagues of invasion, pestilence, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this account I incorporate the remarks of Dr Leyden in the preliminary Dissertation to his edition of 1801, wherever these seem satisfactory, omitting, however, most of his illustrative quotations (often very remotely bearing on the subject) from works then existing only in MSS, or scarce editions, but which have since been printed in full, and, therefore, have not the value which they had when Leyden's Dissertation was the only source at which the general reader could obtain an idea of them.

intestine strife. The germ of her nobility brings forth, not only branches and tender leaves of virtue, but also the salutary and health-giving fruit of honour for the healing of a desolate and wasted nation. The heroines of ancient story, the good and noble women raised to eternal fame in the pages of Plutarch and Boccaccio,-Valeria, daughter of Publicola, Clelia, Lucretia, Penelope, Cornelia, Semiramis, Thomyris, and Penthesilea,—are none of them worthy to be compared in virtue or valour to her, who daily signalizes her prowess against the cruel wolves of England, that, since the death of her husband, James V., have not ceased to plot the utter destruction of Scotland. But even as Queen Esther and Judith were divinely raised up to save the Jews from their enemies, so is the Queen Regent inspired to deliver Scotland. No meaner praise can be given to one who sacrifices her pleasure and ease to dwell in this foreign land, exiled not only from her own kindred, but from her only daughter, the infant Mary Stewart, now safe under the governance of the King of France, "the most illustir potent prince of the most fertile and peacable realme under the machine of the supreme Olimp." In short, Ysicrata never endured greater hardships attending Mithridates in his most perilous situations than the Queen Regent sustains every day. From praise of the personal virtues of Mary of Guise, the author proceeds to that of her ancestors, Godfrey de Bouillon, Baldwin, his brother, René, king of Sicily, Antonio, duke of Calabria, John Cardinal Archbishop of Lorraine, finishing with her father the Duke of Guise, many of whose actions he celebrates, particularly his success in quelling a formidable insurrection of the peasants on the Upper Rhine, for a knowledge of which he was probably indebted to John Carion's Chronicle, subsequently quoted.

To a princess thus illustrious alike by virtue and genealogy, the author had resolved to dedicate the first labour of his pen; and after great difficulty in finding a subject to write about, he has at last concluded it to be most meet for him to rehearse the miseries of Scotland and their causes. Poor as his offering is, he trusts her Grace will humanely accept of it; and by way of example he relates a story of Darius and a poor man of Persia, as well as our Saviour's

commendation of the widow's offering of her "tua half penneis" when "she hed na mair" to give.

The "Epistil to the Quenis Grace" is followed by the "Propog TO THE REDAR," which reminds us again of Lyndesay's Epistil to the Redar, Prolog, and Exclamation to the Redar twycheyng the wryttyng of vulgare and maternal language, at the beginning of the Monarché. He first quotes with approbation ancient decrees against idleness, and then proceeds to reply to the ignorant detracters who might think him idle, in that he uses his pen instead of practising some mechanic craft. Every craft is necessary for the public good: and he that has the faculty of traduction or of composition, has a faculty as honourable, useful, and necessary as that of the mariner, merchant, cordiner (shoemaker), carpenter, captain, or civilist. No man is a gladius delphicus; each has his talent which he must cultivate. His own is that of the study and the pen; even in that he will seek not to go beyond his capacity; and in illustration of the danger of doing so, he gives his first long classical "exempil" in the story of Antiochus and Hannibal at the academy of Phormio, from the Apothegms of Plutarch. Having thus apologized for writing at all, which but for his "ardent favour towards this affligit realm, his native country," he had not presumed to do, he next begs the learned among his readers to excuse his "barbir agrest termis, and domestic Scottis langage," which he chooses as "maist intelligibil for vulgare pepil." There have been diverse writers before him who have taken pleasure in mixing their language with uncouth terms, riven from Latin, and who measured their eloquence by the length of their words, as did he who wrote "gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus;" but for himself he repudiates all such fantastic conceits, and means to use his "natural Scottis tong," except where compelled to admit such terms as augur, auspices, questors, tribune, for which there was no Scottis term, or animal for which it had no precise This declaration of intentions sounds very curious in the light of the fact, that no Scottish writer of his own or any other age has left us a work so groaning under the burden of its foreign words, for which see the section on the Language. Yet there is no reason to suspect him of irony in the passage, and we can only

extend to him that charitable correction which he craves in closing, and which one hopes he received in his own day with the result of "garring him studye mair attentivlye in the nyxt werkis," that he intended to set forth. The practice of writing apologetic prefaces to works in the vulgar tongue, of which Chaucer and Lydgate had given examples, was still common with the Scottish writers. Gawayne Douglas had thus introduced his translation of the Eneid into "Scottis metir:

"And ait, forsoith, I set my besy pane, As that I couth, to make it brade and plane, Kepand no Sodroun, bot oure awin langage, And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page; Na git so clene all Sudroun I refuse, Bot sum worde I pronunce as nychboure dois, Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum, So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum, Sum bastard Latyne, Frensche, or Ynglis ois Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther choise; Not that oure toung is in the seluin skant, Bot for that I the fouth of langage want, Quhare as the cullour of his propirté To keip the sentence, thareto constrenit me, Or that to mak my saying schort sumtyme, Mair compendius, or to likly my ryme."

And in the Dialog of the Monarché, completed by Sir David Lyndesay only four years later than the date of the Complaynt of Scotland, twenty-one stanzas are devoted to "ane exclamatione to the Redar, twycheyng the wryttyng of vulgare and maternal language." In terms not unlike those employed by the author of the Complaynt, he says,

"Gentyl Redar, haif at me non dispyte,
Thinkand that I presumptuously pretend
In vulgair toung so heych mater to writ;
Bot quhair I mys, I pray the till amend.
Tyll vnlernit I wald the cause wer kend
Off our maist miserabyll trauell and torment,
And quhow, in erth, no place bene parmanent.

Quhowbeit that divers devote cunnyng clerkis
In Latyne toung hes wrytten syndrie bukis,
Our vnlernit knawis lytill of thare werkis,
More than thay do the rauyng of the Rukis.
Quharefore to Colzearis, Cairtaris, & to Cukis,—
To Jok and Thome—my Ryme sall be diractit
With cunnyng men quhowbeit it wyl be lactit."

Probably the latest example of such apologizing for a plain style is to be found in the preface to the *Rolment of Courtes*, written by Abacuc Bysett, servant to Sir John Skeane, in the reign of Charles I., and which deserves publication, as perhaps the latest specimen of the Literary Middle Scotch existing.

"I have nocht bene copious in languige be far drevin uncouth evil placed termes, and multiplicationne of wordis, be paraphraces, and circumloquitioun of speich, silogismes, and refutatioun of argumentes be parablis or comparisouns. Nor haue I adhered to auld proverbis, or bywordis, fair flatterand fenzeit and allurand fictiouns, uttered by archdiaciens, maid up, contrefait, and fraising langaige, nor haue I used mingearde nor effeminate tantting invectiue, nor skorneful wordis, vane saterik, or lowse wowsting and wauntting speiches. Nor haue I ower fauerablie or luifinglie loved or prased, or git haue I ouer disdainefullie detracted, lakked, or outbraided in ony wayiss. Nather 3it haue I prophained nor abused the halie and sacreit scriptouris, be vnlerned and vnskilfull applicatiounis, as sum of the vulgar and raschest, railing, simplest comounis dois, eftir yr awin vaine fantasticall fantasies, with out ony authoritie, schame, understanding, or knawlege. Bot be the contrare, I have writtin reverendlie and spairinglie, usand my awin maternal Scottis langaige, or mother toung as we call it, in als pithie, schoirte, and compendious termes, and clene dictionare, according to my simpill iudgment & knawlege for oppyning up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensiounis of the mater or purpoiss in hand, and making it sensabill to unlerned and vulgare sortis understanding."

THE AUTHOR'S DISCOURSE.—After the Prolog, the author proceeds to the subject of his discourse. He starts with the fundamental principle that the mutations of monarchies are due not to fortune, as the ignorant fancy, but to the operations of Divine providence, and illustrates his point by the fate of the great nations of antiquity, and the successive tenure of the empire of the world by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, French, and Germans. Descending from the general to the particular, the author of the Complaynt next concludes that the late disastrous defeat sustained by Scotland at Pinkie was no mere result of the disfavour of fortune, but a part of the Divine dealings with the nation. This conviction has set him apondering upon the meaning of this and the other national disasters, and in his search for light, the perusal of certain chapters of Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and Isaiah, has filled him with trouble and

dismay; for these seem to indicate that the Divine indignation is so hot against Scotland, as to threaten the country with irretrievable ruin.

That his countrymen may read these passages for themselves, he gives in Chapter II. a vigorous Scotch version of them, from the Vulgate, noting the original Latin in the margin; and in Chapter III. deplores the unutterable calamities which they portend, hinting, however, the hope of mercy reserved for those who bow to the chastening rod. The chastening is, after all, for the sake of the sufferers, not of the rod, and when this has fulfilled its purpose on his children, the father will gladly break it and cast it into the fire. It may be that the English are but the scourge in God's hand to do his chastening work, and thereafter to be rejected and cast out. Chapter IV. compares in detail the threatenings before quoted with the actual state of Scotland. One of the calamities threatened in the third of Isaiah is that the Lord would give them young princes to govern them. This, as we have already seen, had been the standing curse of Scotland for generations; but our author is too loyal to his young illustir princess to allow that she can be in any way associated with her country's woes, and consequently quotes "diverse of the maist famous doctours of the kyrk," to show that this particular curse must not be taken literally; it means a prince not young in years, but lacking in discretion. The chapter concludes with a vigorous lunge at the sceptical readers who might perversely hint that the threatenings of Moses and Isaiah referred perhaps not to Scotland but to Israel.

Chap. V. considers various opinions current both in ancient and modern times about the world, its nature and duration. Too many still hope that it will last 37,000 years, as Socrates taught, but will that make human life one day longer? To show the falsity of this hope however, the author quotes John Carion's account of the prophecy

John Carion, professor of Mathematics at Frankfort on the Oder, where

¹ Dr Leyden makes the remarkable oversight of saying "In his references to the Old and New Testament, the Bible of Junius is always quoted." The earliest edition of the well-known version of Junius appeared in 1580. When the Complaynt was written, the Vulgate and the N. T. of Erasmus were the only Latin versions existing.

of Elijah that the world shall endure but 6000 years, and shows that as 1548 of the last two thousand are already past (thus fixing the date of his writing), there remain but 452 till the final consummation of all things; and as these are, for the elects' sake, to be indefinitely shortened, the end of the world may, in fact, be close upon them. A train of reasoning precisely parallel is followed by Lyndesay in the Monarché (Bk IV, 1. 5284):

Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The warld deuydit is in thre;
As cunnyng Maister Carioun
Hes maid plane expositioun,—
How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
The warld sall stand sax thousand zeir,—
From the Creatioun of Adam,
Two thousand zeir tyll Abraham:
Frome Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis Incarnatioun,
Rychtso, hes bene two thousand zeris;
And, be thir Prophiceis, apperis

he had for scholar Melanchthon, was born at Bütickheim in 1499, and died at Berlin, aged 39. He first published his Ephemerides, extending from 1536 to 1550, and containing astrological predictions; his Practica Astrologica; but these two works gained him no reputation, when he became all at once famous by a chronicle of which he was not the author, but which had in the 16th century a prodigious success, and appeared in many editions and translations. Carion had composed a chronicle in German, and before printing it, desired Melanchthon to correct it. Instead of doing so, Melanchthon made another, and published it in German at Wittemberg in 1531. This we learn from himself in writing to Camerarius, "Ego totum opus retexi, et quidem Germanice." While M. published this chronicle under the name of Carion, the latter printed his own work, which he dedicated to Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg. He ended it with four or five prophecies applying to Charles V., all of which turned out false. The two chronicles under the name of Carion had many translators. Hermann Bonnus gave a later version of Melanchthon's, and Jean Leblond translated into French that of Carion, Paris, 1556. That quoted in the Complaynt by Lyndesay is Melanchthon's "Chronicon absolutissimum ab orbe condito vsque ad Christum deductum; in quo non Carionis solum opus continetur, verum etiam alia multa eáq: insignia explicuntur, adeo ut iustæ Historiae loco occupatum esse possit." An English version appeared in 1550, "The thre bokes of Cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the Mathematycall sciences) gathered wyth great diligence of the beste Authours that have written in Hebrue, Greke, or Latine. Whervnto is added an Appendix, conteynyng all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to have chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ 1532 to thys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborough, whyche was neuer afore prynted in Englysh. Ded. to Ed. VI. by Gwalter Lynne.'

Frome Christ, as thay mak tyll us kend, Two thousand tyll the warldis end, Off quhilkis ar bygone, sickirlye, Fyue thousand, fyue hundreth, thre & fyftye; And so remanis to cum, but weir, Four hundreth, with sewin and fourtye zeir: And than the Lorde Omnipotent Suld cum tyll his gret Iugement. Christ sayis, the tyme sal be maid schort, As Mathew planelye doeth report, That for the warldis Iniquité, The letter tyme sall schortnet be, For plesour of the chosin nummer That thay may passe from care and cummer. So be this compt, it may be kend, The warld is drawand neir ane end.

The passage of Carion's Chronicle quoted by both authors is as follows:

"It is useful always to have in view, so far as is possible, the whole course of time, and the principal revolutions of the human race. To this end it is most conducive to know a saying which is recited in the commentaries of the Jews, 1 thus:

'The Tradition of the House of Elias

Six thousand years the world shall last, and then the conflagration.

Two thousand years void of law;

Two thousand in the law;

Two thousand in the days of Messiah. And because of our sins, which are many and great, the years shall lack that shall be lacking.'

Thus did Elias prophesy concerning the duration of mankind, and distinguish the principal revolutions. . . . . Of the third period, he signifies, that the two millenniums shall not be completed, for that iniquity shall abound, on account of which the whole human race shall be the sooner blotted out, and Christ shall appear for judgment, as he saith, 'For the elects' sake shall those days be shortened.' We shall therefore divide our History into three parts, according to the saying of Elias."

"His historical examples are chiefly drawn from the Chronicle of John Carion, and from Boccaccio; but the painting exhibits, in some instances, the strength and richness of old romance," as when the author mentions the silver columns and ivory portals of Castell

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This tradition is recorded in the Gemara, a division of the Talmud.—

Rev. W. W. Skeat.

Ylione of the rich triumphant town of Troy, for which, as well as his account of the Tower of Babel, he was evidently indebted to Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio. His invective against those who acknowledged the influence of Dame Fortune in "the subversions and mutations of prosperitye" is probably aimed at Boccaccio and his translator Lydgate, Gower, and a host of their imitators, all of whom have represented Fortune as the prime dispenser of the happiness and misery of human life. "To shewe Fortune's variaunce" is the object of Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's De Casibus virorum illustrium,

"By example, as there is no rose
Springyng in garden, but there be sum thorne;
Nether fayrer blossome then nature list dispose,
Then may their beuty, as men hath sene toforn,
With bitter winds be from the braunches born;
Ne none so high in his estate contune
Fle from the wayling and daunger of Fortune."

THE MONOLOGUE RECREATIVE.—At this point of the author's discourse a sudden transition occurs; in the preceding five chapters he has put forth his theses as to the causes of national decline and ruin, and the identity of the miseries of Scotland with those threatened against obstinate and vicious nations; and having thus established the framework of his argument, he prefers to convey its special application to the different classes of his countrymen under the similitude of a vision of Dame Scotia and her three sons. introduce this vision, he now abruptly represents himself as mentally and physically fatigued with the labour of writing the preceding five chapters. To prevent himself from falling asleep right off, he turned out into the open air for a walk, which the beauty of the scenery led him to prolong, first into, and finally through, the short midsummer night. For the sun had that day entered the 25th degree of Gemini, and it was thus within five days of the summer solstice.1 A stream clear as beryl, and teeming with fishes of silvery scale, skirted the base of a little mount, on which there hung a verdant wood, vocal with the various melody of birds hopping from bush to The boreal blasts of the three borrowing days of March

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It was the 6th June, Old Style, the 15th by modern reckoning.

had chased the blossom of the fruit trees far over the fields, and the fruit was set on the leafy boughs. In such contemplations the night passed, and the messengers of Aurora appeared in the north-Diana, the lantern of the night, and her north-east horizon. attendant stars grew pale, and fled to hide themselves from Titan's golden face. Misty vapours rose lazily from vale and plain, and the green fields drank up the copious dew. Then began the myriad voices of the morning, "the rumour of rammasche (rammassé) foulis, ande of beystis that made grite beir," which answered each other even as if blabbering Echo had herself been hid in a "hou hole" crying her half-answer to Narcissus. In the description of these natural scenes, the author displays an eloquence to which he never attains in the Complaynt; all the resources of alliteration and of assonance are called in to aid him in telling how "the grene feildis for gret droutht, drank up the drops of the deu, quhilk befor hed maid dikis and dailis very donc," and how "the brutal sound did redound, to the hie skyis, of beistis that maid greet beir, as they part beside burnis and boggis on grene banks" to seek their food. The enumeration of the cries of animals which follows is exceedingly curious, almost every species having a verb appropriate to itself. Some of these are also to be found in Holland's Houlate, Montgomery's Cherry and the Slae, and here and there in Lyndesay.

Passing on through the fragrant fields the author met many 'landuart grumis' or rural hinds going forth to their morning labour, and himself, contented with his night's recreation, turned his steps townward, to proceed with the compilation of his book. But the sleepy god whom he had defied all night, was not to be so easily baulked of his prey. Assailed with a sudden drowsiness, the author yielded so far as to recline on the cold ground, and with a grey stone to support his head, he attempted the experiment of closing his eyes and looking through his eyelids; but the subterfuge was of course unsuccessful, for he sank into a profound slumber, in which his perturbed brain was visited by the dream of Dame Scotia and her three sons, which forms the subject of the remaining chapters of his work.

In taking this as the original form of the "Monolog Recreative,"

we are guided at once by the original foliation, and by the contents of the chapter themselves. The cries of the animals end at the bottom of leaf 31, and the author meets the "landuart grumis" and bends his steps homeward at the top of leaf 32; the contents of the 44 interpolated pages consequently are no part of the original Monologue. Even as to the cries of the animals we cannot be quite sure; the leaf on which they occur is a cancel replacing the original. 31, but it is probable that the changes made in it extended only to the few last lines, so as to lead the reader to the inserted sea-scene. instead of taking him back towards town. The contents of the Monologue form so complete an interruption to the course of the work, that the reader naturally loses all idea of time, when listening to the shepherd's cosmogony, and the tales and ballads which follow: but when his attention is directed to the notes of time occurring before and after, the inconsistency of the actual form of the Monologue with the plan of the work becomes at once evident. The sun has already risen, and all the noise of day commenced, when the author describes the cries of the animals; after this comes the seascene, to which we cannot allow less than two hours at least; then the author returns to the fields, and finds the shepherds who have brought their sheep down from the hills to the lower pastures, and who now sit down to the morning meal brought to them by their wives and children, i. e. an eight or nine o'clock breakfast after they had completed their early morning work. The head-shepherd's "lang prolixt orison," which his wife reasonably enough found "tedious & melancolie," implies a good two hours at least. long time the forty-eight tales, told each at full length—the thirtyeight and "mony vthir" sweet songs sung "in gude accordis and reportis of diapason prolations, and dyatesseron"—the dances, of which the thirty named are only a poor specimen of the "mony vthir, quhilkis are ouer prolixt to be rehersit"—the walk through the meadow leisurely enough to permit the examination of 22 and "mony other eirbis," are to be supposed to have taken, I do not presume to say—half a week seems a moderate allowance; but when all is over, to our astonishment it is still only sunrise, "landuart grumis" are on their way to the dewy fields to commence their day's COMPLAYNT.

work, and all that the author has seen is but "a pleysand nychtis recreation." Bring the "landuart grumis" in immediately after the description of sunrise and the awakening din of nature, and all becomes simple; what comes between is a subsequent interpolation, which the author did not attempt to make consistent (for the very good reason that he could not) with the notes of time that precede and follow.

THE VISION OF DAME SCOTIA, which ostensibly occupies the rest of the book, shows "action" only in Chap. VII. In the Exhortations, Reproaches, and Recriminations, which follow, the allegorical veil vanishes from sight, and the bare poles on which it may be supposed to have been stretched, alone remain standing, in the now-and-then-repeated "o 3e my thre sonnis," or the labourer's "o my dolorus mother."

Chap. VII., however, presents us with very characteristic portraits of the "affligit lady" Dame Scotia, and her three sons. Scotia is represented as a lady of excellent extraction and ancient genealogy, now in deep affliction; her golden hair is disordered and dishevelled; her crown of gold tottering on her head. The red lion, blazoned on a field of gold bordered with the fleur de lis, appears wounded on her shield; and her mantle is so rent and torn, that the various devices with which it was adorned "in ald tymys" are almost erased. These devices are of three kinds: on the upper border are embroidered weapons and accoutrements of war, characteristic of Nobility; in the middle, characters, books, and scientific figures, with many charitable acts and supernatural miracles, emblematic of the occupations of the Clergy; while round the lower border appear various figures emblematic of husbandry, traffic, and mechanical arts, in allusion to the various occupations of the Commons. This lowest part of the mantle was worse destroyed than the two others; so completely indeed was it disfigured, that there seemed no possibility of restoring it by any art or device to its original condition. As the lady in this woful plight gazed across her once fertile, but now withered and barren, fields, she beheld approaching her three "native natural sons." These are again described in terms agreeing with the description of the parts of the mantle.

ignorance of the allegorical second son Spiritualité is graphically noted by a single touch. He is described as clad in a long gown, sitting in a chair, with an aspect of great gravity, holding in his hand a book, "the clasps of which are fast locked with rust." So also the misery of the Commons is depicted in the Youngest Son lying flat on his side on the cold earth, with clothes riven and ragged, making a dolorous moan, and so grievously distressed as to be unable to stand upright even when set on his feet. Dame Scotia begins to reproach the three wretched wights with the cowardice, vice, and unnatural dissensions, which have brought themselves and her to this miserable condition.

Chap. VIII. contains a general reproach, in which all the sons are charged with degeneracy, unnaturalness, and selfishness, in sacrificing their country to their individual interests, for the sake of which many have been content to take assurance of England, and others to become neutral like the "ridars" that dwelt on the Debatable Lands, i.e. those portions of the frontier which were claimed by both England and Scotland, and became in consequence the head-quarters of the border freebooters or moss-troopers,

"Who stole the beeves that made their broth From England and from Scotland both,"

and to whom it was convenient to have a place of retreat into which the wardens of neither country could pursue them without risk of kindling a quarrel with the other. During the minority of the late king, James V., the depredations of the moss-troopers had been extended with impudent daring even to Edinburgh and the towns of Fife. In Lyndesay's "Satyre of the Thre Estaits," we find Commoun Thift, a riever from Ewesdale, inquiring,

Will na gude fallow to me tell
Quhair I may find
The Earle of Rothus best haiknay?
That was my earand heir away.
He is richt stark as I heir say,
And swift as wind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Debatable Land, between the Esk and Sarke, was divided between England and Scotland by royal commissioners appointed in 1522. Scot's Dyke Station, on the railway between Carlisle and Hawick, takes its name from the boundary then constructed. It continued, however, long after to be the rendesyous of the thieves and banditti, who had so long made it their home.

Heir is my bridill & my spurris, To gar him lance ouir land and furris Micht I him get to Ewis durris I tak no cuir. Of that hors micht I get ane sicht, I haif na doubt, 3it or midnicht, That he and I sould tak the flicht Throch Dysert Mure. Of cumpanarie, tell me, brother, Quhilk is the richt way to the Strother [Anstruther] I wald be welcum to my mother, Gif I micht speid; I wald gif baith my coat and bonet, To get my Lord Lyndesayis broun Ionet; War he beyond the watter of Annet We sould nocht dreid.

The salutary severity of the king in his raid of 1531, when he executed Johnnie Armstrong and his retinue, as well as Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tushielaw, all renowned chiefs of freebooting clans, quieted the Borderers for the rest of his life, rendering property so safe that, according to Lyndesay, he "gart the rasche bus keip the cow." But since his death the marauders had again become the terror of the country, and their depredations, even at a later period, are plaintively recorded by Maitland of Lethington:—

Off Liddisdail the common theifis Sa peartlie steilis now and reifis, That nane may keip Hors, nolt, nor scheip, Nor zeit dar sleip For their mischiefis. They plainly throw the country ridis, I trow the mekil deuil thame gydis! Quhair thay on-set, Ay in thair gait Thair is na zet Nor dor thame bydis. Thay leif richt nocht, quhair euer thay ga, Their can na thing be hid them fra; For gif men wald Thair housis hald, Than wax thay bald To burne and slay. Tha thiefis have neirhand herreit hail Ettricke Forest and Lawder daill; Now are they gane In Lowthiane, And spairis nane That thay will waill.

The Englishmen's Assurance, in which Dame Scotia accuses many of her children as living, dated especially from the battle of Pinkie. On the 24th September, 1547, the Duke of Somerset received the homage of most of the nobles and gentry of the Eastern borders, and took them and their clans into English protection as "assured Scots," while shortly after Lord Wharton, as Warden of the West Marches, compelled the submission of the principal clans of the west, and took them into assurance to the number of more than 7000 men. Their forced submission, however, we find, lasted only till the arrival of the French auxiliaries in 1549.

<sup>1</sup> Patten gives a list of those chiefs of the Eastern borders who submitted to Somerset in Septr., 1547, namely: the lairds of Cessfoorth, Fernyherst (ancestors of the noble families of Roxburghe and Lothian), Grenehed, Hunthill, Hundely, Makerston, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestains, Warmesay, Lynton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Rydell. Of gentlemen, George Tromboul, Ihon Haliburton, Robert Car, Robert Car of Greyden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Meyther, Saunders Purvose of Erleston, Mark Car of Littledean, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Macdowal, Charles Rutherford, Thomas .Car of the Yeir, Ihon Car of Neynthorn, Walter Haliburton, Richard Hangansyde, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Cavers, James Car of Mersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Edmersden, John Grymslowe.—Expedition of the Duke of Somerset. London, 1548. On the West Marches, the following barons and clans submitted and gave pledges to Lord Wharton, that they would serve the king of England, with the number of men annexed to their names: ANNERDALE-Laird of Kirkmighel, 222; Rose, 165; Hempsfield, 163; Home Ends, 162; Wamfrey, 102; Dunwoody, 44; Newby and Gratney, 122; Tinnel (Tinwald), 102; Patrick Murray, 203; Christie Urwin of Coveshawe, 102; Cuthbert Urwin of Robbgill, 34; Urwens of Sennersack, 40; Wat Urwen, 20; Jeffrey Urwen, 93; T. Johnson of Crackburn, 64; James Johnston of Coites, 162; Johnstons of Craggyland, 37; Johnstons of Driesdell, 46; Johnstones of Malinshaw, 65; Gawen Johnston, 31; Will Johnston, the laird's brother, 110; Robin Johnston of Lochmaben, 67; Laird of Gillersbie, 30; Moffits, 24; Bells of Tostints, 142; Bells of Tindills, 222; Sir John Lawson, 32; Town of Annan, 33; Roomes of Tordephe, 32; Lord Carlisle, 101; Laird of Applegirth, 242. NITHSDALE-Mr Maxwell and more, 1000; Laird of Closeburn, 403; Lug, 202; Cransfield, 27; Mr Ed. Creighton, 10; Laird of Cowhill, 91; Maxswells of Brakenside, and vicar of Carlaverick, LIDDESDALE and DEBATABLE LAND-Armstrongs, 300; Elwoods (Elliots), 74; Nixons, 32. GALLOWAY—Laird of Dawbaylie, 41; Orcherton, 111; Carlisle, 256; Loughenvar, 45; Tutor of Bombie, 140; Abbot of New Abbey, 141; Town of Dumfries, 201; Town of Kircubrie, 36. TIVIDALE— Laird of Drumlire, 364; Caruthers, 71; Trumbells, 12. ESKDALE—Battisons and Thomsons, 166. Total under English Assurance in the west, 7008 men.-Bell's Introd. to Hist, of Cumberland, quoted by Scott, Introd. to Border Minstrelsy. Practically, therefore, when the Complaynt was written, the entire population of the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright, were living in the English Assurance, and had English soldiers in their fortresses.

Having given vent to her natural indignation, the "affligit lady" proceeds in Chap. IX. to urge her children to put forth efforts for their own relief, and recites, for their encouragement, examples of diverse countries whose struggle for independence has been successful. The bravery of Mattathias Machabæus and his sons, of Gideon, Miltisdes, Leonidas, and Themistocles, is recounted; and they are bidden to remember how, not six score years before, the English, after becoming masters of nearly all France, had been ignominiously driven from that country; as, indeed, they had long ago been expelled from Scotland by the persevering bravery of Robert Bruce. The doom of ambition and tyranny is illustrated by the fates of many ancient usurpers; the Lord Protector of England may yet stand in the chronicles alongside of Philaris, and Nero.

From the early part of this chapter or the end of the preceding, two leaves have been cut out, and leaf 37, on which Chap. IX. begins, is a substitute bridging over the gap. There is nothing to indicate the contents of the excised leaves, or the reason of their cancellation.

Chap. X. combats some of the peculiar weapons which the English had begun to employ against Scotland, viz., "ane poietical buik oratourly dytit," which had been set forth at the Protector's instance. to show that Scotland was originally a colony of England; and that it was essential that the two should again be united under one prince, and called the Isle of Britain as it was in the beginning when the Trojan Brutus conquered it from the giants; also certain pretended prophecies of Merlyne, which in rusty rhyme foretold the same consummation. Kingdoms are conquered not by books, but by blood; and the English may find these pretended prophecies like the ancient ambiguous answers of the oracles, fulfilled in a way they little expect. Against them is to be set a prophecy recorded in Higden's Polychronicon, which says that the English are to be successively conquered by Danes, Saxons, Normans, and Scots; and the author expresses his own belief that the generation then alive would yet see England ruled by a Scottish prince, a conjecture which, seventy years later, circumstances proved to be correct.

We have no trace of any work which quite answers to the "beuk oratourly dytit;" and the description of a "poietical beuk" seems ' to be due to a confusion with the Merlyne prophecies quoted at the same time. But as we have seen in the historical section (p. xv). four English pamphlets have come down to us (besides the appeal to the Scots in Patten's narrative of Somerset's campaign), the contents of which answer to the description here given, and are evidently in the author's mind here and elsewhere in the Complaynt. These are printed in the Appendix; and it will be seen that the Exhortacion of the "Scottisheman," the Epistle of the Lord Protector, and the "Epitome" of Bodrugan, as well as Patten's Preface, all have as their "tenor, that it var verra necessare for the veilfare of ingland and Scotland, that baytht the realmis var conjunit togiddir, to be vndir the gouvernyng of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of bertan as it vas in the begynnyng." The "Just Declaracion" of Henry VIII., and the tracts of the "Scottisheman" and Bodrugan further profess as here described, "to preue that Scotland was an colone of Ingland, quhen it was first inhabit; and to gar ther cruel inuasions contrar our realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princis that they have ane just titil to mak veyr contrar vs." They also refer to "the begynnyng quhen the troian brutus conquest the ile fra the giantis."

The story of Brutus is one of the earliest myths of British history. There were two distinct versions of the legend, the older of which is to be found in Nennius, and was at an early period received by the Scottish and Irish Celts. According to this, Brutus and Albanus, the two sons of Isacon (Ascanius), first conquered the island and shared it between them, naming their respective territories after themselves, Briutain and Alban. The Duan Albanach which was sung or recited at the coronation of the Scottish kings, down to Alexander II., and which bears internal evidence of having come into its present form about the year 1070, recites this legend in its opening stanzas:

A colchan Alban uile, A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe, Cia ceud ghabhail, an col diubh, Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh. Albanus ro ghabh, lia a shlogh Mac sen oirdere Isicon, Brathair is Briutus gan brath, O raitear Alba eathrach.

Ro connarb a brathair bras, Briotus tar muir n-Icht n-amhnas, Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain, Go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudain.

O all ye learned of Alban (Scotia)
Ye well-skilled host of yellow hair,
What was the first invasion—is it known to you?
Which took the land of Alban?

Albanus possessed it, numerous his hosts, He was the illustrious son of Isacon, He and Briutus were brothers without deceit, From him Alban of ships has its name.

Briutus banished his active brother
Across the stormy sea of Icht,
Briutus possessed the noble Alban,
As far as the conspicuous promontory of Fotudain.

Skene, Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, No. vi.

Among the Southern Britons the legend assumed a somewhat different form, which we meet with first in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the contemporary Welsh Bruts, whence it found its way into Wace, and Layamon, and having thus gained the ear of the Norman and the Saxon, found an acceptance far wider than the elder Celtic version of the myth. Brutus the son of Ascanius here appears as the father of Alban, or Albanactus, who has besides an elder brother Locrinus, and a younger Camber. Brutus, having conquered the island from the giants, names it after himself, and at his death divides the whole among his three sons, giving to the eldest the larger portion, which thence derived its British name of Lloygir (England); to the second the northern and smaller part called after him, Alban; and to Camber, the territory west of Severn, thenceforth known as Cymry. Locrinus moreover inherits his father's supremacy over the whole island. The later character of this form of the myth is palpable on the surface. The Nennius legend originated at a time when the only facts in British ethnology to be accounted for, were

<sup>1</sup> Of the Ottadini-St Abbs' Head, or the Bass?

the presence in Britain of the Bretts or Britons in the south, and the Albannaich, Caledonii, or Gadhels in the north. These two branches of the Celtic stock, with their obvious relationship and no less obvious points of difference, were satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis of two brothers who had shared the island from the beginning, with a shadowy reference to a time when the Gaelic division had extended much farther south, before they had been driven north beyond the Forth by the superior force of the British section. But Geoffrey's legend is adapted to account for facts and names which had no existence till long after the Saxon settlement, as well as to feudal notions of a still later age. It was destined, however, to play a solemn part in the disputes between England and Scotland, forming as it did the starting-point from which the English kings rested their claim to the supremacy of the sister country. Thus we find it paraded with a pompous roll of Latinity in the reply of Edward I. to the Bull of Pope Boniface interposing on behalf of Scotland, in 1300.

"Now about the time of Ely and Samuel the prophet, a certain brave and distinguished hero, Brutus by name, of Trojan race, after the destruction of the city of Troy, betook himself with a multitude of Trojan nobles to a certain island, then called Albion, and inhabited by giants. These having been overthrown and slain by the strength of himself and his followers, he gave to the country the name of Britannia, and to his companions that of Britons, after himself; and he built a city which he named Trinovantum, which is now called London.

"And afterwards he divided his realm among his three sons; to wit, as follows:

"To Locrinus, the first born, that part of Britain which is now called Anglia;

"And to Albanactus, the second born, that part which was then called, from the name of Albanactus, Albania, but now Scocia.

"And to Camber, his youngest son, the part then called from his name Cambria, now known as Walia.

"There being reserved to Locrinus, the elder, the royal supremacy.
"Then, two years after the death of Brutus, there landed in Albania a certain king of the Huns called Humber, and slew Albanactus, the brother of Locrinus; on hearing which, Locrinus, King of Britain, proceeded against him; who fleeing was drowned in a river, which from his name is called Humber, and thus did Albania revert to the foresaid Locrinus;" &c., &c.

In the equally elaborate reply of the Scottish nation, no attempt is made to combat Edward's assertions by producing the older legend of the Duan Albanach, now forgotten like the language in which it lay buried; the Scots admit the story of Geoffrey and the Bruts, but pick holes in the king's logic, and brush away his deductions. Granted that Brutus and his sons ruled all the island, it was as Britons and over Britons that they reigned; but since that distant day, the southern part of Britain had been successively conquered by Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and the northern part by Picts and Scots; what the mutual relations between Britons in the days of Eli and Samuel could have to do with the relations between Scots and Normans in the 14th century, they could not see, neither did they believe could the pope. But as the Brutus legend grew more and more distasteful to the Scots, something must be provided as a set-off, and hence arose the fable that the Scots were descended from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea, and Gathelus, Gaidhel, or Gayel-glas, a prince of Greece, the former giving her name to the country, the latter leaving his to the race of the Gaidhel or Gaël and the Gadhelic or Gaelic language. brought the Scots into Britain centuries before the era of Brutus, at whom Scottish historians could accordingly afford a passing sneer, when in their annals they arrived at the comparatively late date at which he and his Trojans landed in the "south partes of oure Ile, and callit it Britan, the quhilk was never callit Bertan but to the Scottis Se, and not be northe." The "impudissimum mendacium" of Brutus, and "non minus fabulosa" legend of Scota, as they were afterwards called by Buchanan in his scarcely less fabulous history, were of too great value, as political weapons, to be lightly surrendered, and were gravely recited on the one side and the other down to the sixteenth century; so that Brutus and Albanactus figure prominently once more, in the Vindication of Henry VIII., and in the subsequent pamphlets of the "Scottisheman" and Bodrugan alias Adams.

The fashion of writing History in the form of prophecy is said to have begun in Wales, where the "Cyvoesi Myrddin," written partly in the reign of Hywel dda in the 10th century, and partly in the reign of Henry II., is given in the shape of a prophecy supposed to

be uttered by Myrddin or Merlin in the 6th century. Afterwards the fashion extended to Ireland and Scotland, and a Latin poem of this class assigned to the reign of the Scottish Edgar claims to contain predictions of Merlin and Gildas. These ancient remains were from age to age added to and altered, so as to suit the course of events, and, after giving a history of occurrences already accomplished, under a thin veil of allegory, ended with a few dark and ambiguous allusions to the future. Thomas the Rymour, Bede, Gildas, St Berchan, St Columba, Thomas à Beckett, and at a later date many others, were thus held in popular esteem as prophets, and had predictions fathered upon them; but the name of the ancient British bard Myrddin or Merlin appears to have inspired the widest credit. Prophecies attributed to him exist in Welsh, Latin, English, French, Italian, and German. They are cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robert of Gloucester, and Laurence Minot; and a "Tretise of Merlyn," or his Prophecies in verse, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529, and afterwards by John Hawkins in 1533. As, according to the Welsh writers, as well as Scottish tradition, Merlin was a native of that Northern Wales (Gwened a Gogledd) which became at length a part of the Scottish Lowlands, his name and fame flourished with special vigour in the south of Scotland, even after many of the Arthur legends had been allowed to die out in this their original birth-land, on account of the unpalatable support which they gave to the English claims over Scotland. such prophecies in the Scotch of the second half of the 15th century have been edited for the Early English Text Society, 1870, by the Rev. J. R. Lumby, from a MS. in the Cambridge University Library. They are to be found also in a more modern form in a chapbook which continued to circulate down to the beginning of the present century, under the title of "The whole prophecies of Scotland, England, France, Ireland, and Denmark, prophesied by Thomas Rymer, Marvellous Merling, Beid, Berlington, Waldhave, Eltraine, Banester, and Sybilla [to which the later editions add "Also Archbishop Usher's wonderful prophecies"], all agreeing in one; both in Latin Verse and in Scottish Meeter; containing many strange and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Skene, Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, No. xi.

Marvellous Matters, not of before read or heard." This pamphlet contains a dedication to James VI., after whose accession to the English throne it was compiled.\(^1\) Part of the contents also belong to that late period, or at least to the declining years of Elizabeth, such as the *Hempe* prophecy (first in the edition of 1615):

"When Hempe is come and also gone, Scotland and England shall be all one.

ĸ.	K.	Q.	ĸ.	Q.
Henry	Edward	Mary	<b>P</b> hilip	Elizabeth
the VIII.	the VI.	•	of Spain, Q.	
			M.'s husb.	
H	E	M	P	E

Praised be God alone, for Hempe is come and gone, And left in Old Albion, only Peace joined in one."

A reference to the battle of Pinkie, in the prophecie of Thomas

Rymour,

At Pinkie Cleuch their shall be spilt

Much gentle blood that day,

must of course be later than that event. Another, referring to a French wife having a son who should rule all Britain, has been shown by Lord Hailes (Remarks on the History of Scotland, Edin. 1773) to have been composed shortly after the battle of Flodden, and to have announced the arrival of the Duke of Albany (born in France, and of a French mother), from whom as Regent great things were hoped.

THE PROPHECIE OF BERTLINGTON.
Of Bruces left side shall spring out a leif
As neere as the ninth degree,
And shall be flemed of faire Scotland,
In France farre beyond the see,
And then shall come againe riding,
With eyes that many may see;
At Aberladie he shall light,
With hempen holters, and hors of tre.

¹ The first edition has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, its title is "The whole prophesie of Scotland, England, and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie. Anno 1603." The Dedication to James VI. first appeared in Andro Hart's enlarged edition of 1615, which continued to be reprinted almost verbatim down to the beginning of this century. A copy dated 1806 is in the British Museum. Leyden speaks of it as well-known in his time; I have never come across it, but have heard portions quoted by elderly people in my childhood.

How euer it happen for to fall, The Lyon shal be Lord of all; The French wife shal beare the Sonne, Shal weild al Bretane to the sea; And from the Bruces blood shall come As neere as the ninth degree.

When the prediction miserably failed in Albany's case, it was fondly applied to the offspring of other French wives (of whom James V. had two), the nine degrees being counted now from Bruce himself, now from his daughter Marjory, through whom the succession had come to the Stewarts; and finally, when Queen Mary arrived home in Scotland, a French widow if not a wife, we find Alexander Scott, a poet of the day, applying the prophecy to her:—

Giffe sawis be suth to schaw thy celsitude, Quhat berne sould bruke all Bretane be be see? The prophecie expreslie dois conclude, The Frensch wyfe of the Brucis blude suld be: Thow art be lyne fra him the nynte degree, And wes King Frances pairty maik and peir; So be discente, the same sowld spring of be, By grace of God agane this gude new-zeir.

At this time also apparently a new version of the prediction appeared, in a prophecy fathered upon Thomas the Rymour, containing the allusion to Pinkie Cleuch already mentioned. When Mary's son, James VI., did actually succeed to the English throne, the people considered their favourite prophet's credit quite substantiated, although the nine degrees could only be got by lopping off both ends of the line.

Setting aside, however, all these later productions which are in rhyme, we find a number of pieces in alliterative verse, of some of which, as already mentioned, 15th-century originals have lately turned up. These are undoubtedly

"The prophise is of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng,"

with which Sir David Lyndesay tells us, in the Epistil prefaced to his *Dreme*, he entertained the youth of James V.; and they are no less certainly the "misteous propheseis of Merlyne and vthir ald corruppit vaticinaris" referred to by the author of the Complaynt. It may, therefore, be of interest to quote a passage from the "rusty ryme," which predicted the union of England and Scotland under one prince:—

## THE PROPHECY OF MERLING.

Their shal a Galyart gayt with a gilten Horne, A Pilledow, with a Tode, sic a prime holde, With their pieres in a place by the Streame-side: To strive with the streame, but they no strength have, For their mooving they meete in the mid-way, All the Grooms shall grounch be the way-side, And many bairnes shal have his byth on the backside. And that meruaile shall fal be a Fyrth-side : Where the Leader of the Land shal his Life lose, But that bargain shall brew in a baire Burgh, That shall banish from Blisse many bright Helme, When it is breued on his back, and his brief knowne Of dumb Organes dight, then may thou wel deeme Of all the weil & the wealth before then was wroght; With Hunger and Heirshipe on euerie Hill. Yet this wicked World shall last but a while; While a chiftane unchosen choose forth himself, And ride over the Region, and for Roy holden: Then his scutifiers shall skail all the fair South, Fra Dunbartone to Dover, and deil all the lands, He shall be kid conquerour, for he is kinde Lord, Of all Bretaine that bounds to the broad Sea, The conquessing shall be keeped and never conquest after.

Be the coast ye shal know when the knight comes; He has a mark in the middle, where no man may know: When he is set in the East where the Sun riseth: He has a signe that shal shew on the South Side. Signum venenosi sanguinis de ventre matris sua, All Wailes I wis, shall wend with that Roy, For to work his wil, where he thinks would, Guiane, Gaskoigne, and Bretane the blyth, Shall busk to his bidding on their best wise: The whole men will help in his most hight, Then shall he turn into Tuskane but trety or true, And busk him over the mountains on mid winter even; And then goe to Rome, and rug downe the walles And over all the Region Roy shall be holden, Oft this booke have I seene, and better thereafter, Of meruelous Merling, but it is wasted away With a wicked Woman, wo might she be! (For she hath closed him in a Craig on Cornwel cost.)1

Among the other contents of the chapbook we find, curiously enough, the prophecy cited in the Complaynt as a set-off to the

<sup>1</sup> As showing the variations and corruptions introduced by time, compare the four last lines (which are found as the termination of several of the prophecies) with the same in the Cambridge MS.:

For Bedis buke have I seyn, & Banysters als; And Merwelus Merlyne is wastede away Wytht a wykede womane,—woo mycht sho bee!— Scho has closede him in a cragge of Cornewales coste. English pretensions. It is thus given, nearly in the words of Trevisa's translation of Higden:

## THE PROPHECIE OF THE ENGLISH CHRONICLES.

There shal proceede a holy Heremeet in King Elfridus time: in this manner. (in the booke of King Henry the sixth), 1 saying, These Englishmen, forasmuch as they use to drunkennesse, to treason, to carelesnesse of Gods House, First by the Daines, then by the Normands, and the thirde time by the Scottes that they hold the most wretches, and least worth of all other, They shall bee overcome and vincust. Then the world shall be unstabell.

"During the unsuccessful wars of the English against Robert Bruce, this prophecy seems to have had a powerful effect on their desponding minds; for Higden in another passage, says (according to Trevisa's version) 'The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thyrty yeres togyder, unto Kyng Edwardes tyme, the thyrde after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen oft, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyd that that myshappe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, as the prophecye sayd, that Englyshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes.'"—Leyden.

At the end of this chapter occurs one of the largest cancellations in the book, six leaves, 47—52, having been excised, and the existing leaf 47, on which Chap. X. now ends and Chap. XI. begins, inserted to bridge over the gap. This may have been a curtailment of Chap. X. by the omission of other ancient examples of ambiguous prophecies and oracular responses; but, inasmuch as the next chapter is called XIII., it seems more probable that an entire chapter has here been omitted, and that the one which follows was originally Chap. XII., but altered to XI. on the cancel leaf. In the Tabula of Cheptours at end of the book, this omission is disguised by the chapters not being numbered beyond XI. At the same time Chap. XI. is a very long one, and might naturally be divided into two parts, as indicated in note to page 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A mistranslation, as may be seen from Trevisa: "Therof prophecyed an holy anker in king E3elfredus tyme in this maner (Henricus libro sexto) Englyshemen for as muche as they use them to dronkelewnes, to treason & to rechelesnes of goddes house, fyrste by Danes, and thenne by Normans, & at the thyrde tyme by Scottes, that they holde moost wretches, and lest worth of al other, they schal be ouercome."

The foundation of the claims advanced in the various English tracts was, as we have seen, that the English sovereigns legally represented the Trojan Brutus. In this chapter the author, without ostensibly referring to these statements, essays to overthrow their conclusions by shewing that the English kings are usurpers even in England, and ergo can have no title to the crown of Scotland, even though it were at one time a fief of lawful sovereigns of England. So far from the English representing Brutus and the old Britons, they are descended from the false blood of Sergest and Hengest, the two Saxons who had treacherously overcome and dispossessed these very Britons. Since that time, moreover, there have been many breaks in the legal succession, and many usurpations by kings who have been borreaus and murderers of their predecessors-witness King John, Henry IV., Richard III., Henry VII., &c. &c. Although the natives of the Scottish Lowlands were, in the main, as pure Saxons as their English neighbours—purer Angles, in fact—yet they had, since the wars of Bruce, been led by association with their Celtic fellow-subjects to adopt from these the use of the word Saxon as equivalent to Englishman, and indeed as a term of hatred and reproach. Thus we find it in Harry the Minstrel's Wallace, and so also is it used by the author of the Complaynt, who, we may be sure, little dreamed that this "false Saxons blude" was the fluid which coursed in his own veins, and that the Saxon's pure vernacular was better represented in his own pages than in many contemporary English writings. He owned no such relationship; his relations with the Saxon consisted merely in twelve hundred years of mutual enmity—true enough as regarded his Celtic fellow-subjects,—but amusing in a Teuton, and instructive as showing how sentimental and destitute of any real basis may be the feeling of race, since it may exist in direct opposition to all the facts of blood, of language, and of history itself, when this is unknown or forgotten. stitute a "race" or "nationality" wants only a history; and for this a false one, if only believed, is as good—nay, often better—than a Ireland, Switzerland, Scotland, the United States, each composed of diverse stocks speaking different tongues, united by belief in a common history, are our witnesses.

During these twelve centuries of enmity, according to our author, the English had never ceased to profit by Scottish dissensions, even as Darius knew how to profit by the quarrels of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and Henry VIII. endeavoured to make use of the quarrels of Francis and Charles V. Would his countrymen only consider how their intestine divisions opened the door for English interference, they would remove from among them the injustice and extortion rampant in the land; and by shewing themselves strong and united, soon oblige their enemies to sue for that peace which they were only too glad to obtain when Scotland was at peace with itself. The example of their own valiant predecessors who had so stoutly resisted the Saxon slavery ought to move them to imitate their deeds. The murder of so many Scottish leaders by Edward I. at the Black Parliament at the Barns of Ayr (a circumstance vouched for only by "the authority of Henry the Minstrel, and the relations of Arnold Blair, but which is supposed to have been mentioned in the chapters of Book XI of the Scotochromion, amissing in the Scottish MS."), is held up as a specimen of what might happen again if the English should obtain as full possession of Scotland. To deprive a conquered country of its natural leaders had always been a recognized policy of conquerors; witness the directions which Tarquin the Proud gave, in dumb show, as to the chief men of Gabii. The cruel oppression of Wales and Ireland by the English is then expatiated on, and a glimpse afforded us of the Irish Difficulty in an early, but sufficiently intractable stage. We have then an account of the Statutes made by Edward II. on the field of Bannockburn before the battle, and their discovery by the capture of Friar Conraldus; whence by a sudden transition we find ourselves in the Caudine Forks, to see the Romans forced to submit to humiliating terms by the Samnites, for the purpose of being told that a still straiter yoke awaits the necks of those Scots who have assisted the English in their invasions. That the "Assured Scots" on the borders at times accompanied the English army, we find from various entries in the "Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents happening in Scotland 1513 to 1575." 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1833, 4to. COMPLAYNT. d

January 1545: "the English garysoun that lay in Coldinghame to the nomber of vj<sup>xx</sup> come and brynt Morhame, Bathgait, Stanpath, and Datrie, quha wes helpit be our fals Scottis, for Lawder was sworne all Inglismen; the wardane of Ingland delt thair landis to quhome he plesit."

## A month later,

"Vpoun the xxij day of Februar, the lord Gray come to Hadintoun with tua thowsand men, with all the Merss and Teviotdaill, and gat all the houssis on Tyne, and tuke plegis of all gentilmen thaj gat, quha did na skaith, bot pait for the thing thaj tuke, and depairtit hame eftir that thaj had remaynit foure dayes; and in this tyme, the cuntrie for the maist pairt, was of the opinioun of Inglismen. The Inglismen passand to burne Drumlanrik, the thevis tuke pairt with the Scottis, and pat thame abak, and sua thaj pairtis come to the auld style agane. And vpoun the xxiiij day, the Inglismen being all out of Scotland, the gouernour past & brynt Ormistoun, and wan the hous of Saltounhall; and heirefter Hallis was randerit to the Scottis agane."

The "thieves" were slippery allies to either side, as another entry shows:

"1547. XIX Apryle. Thairefter the governour 3eid at Ewis Durris, and down the watter of Ewis, bot our awin thevis of Tindaill and Ewisdaill come to the governour, quha war sworne Inglismen, for he brynt all thair cornis and houssis, quhair the governour remaynit ten dayis; bot in thair returnyng, they had ewill wedder."

The feat of Edward at the Barns of Ayr had, we are told, been attempted to be repeated by the Lord Protector in March 1547, in a raid made into the West Marches of Scotland. How then should any Scotsman trust the English promises? More than 3000 Scots with their wives and children, says the author, have gone to dwell in England during the last fifty years, but these have been obliged to disown their nationality and live as "renegat Scottis," who may indeed now be favoured while their treason serves the English king, These fugitives conbut will meet the fate of traitors in the end. sisted, no doubt, largely of the followers of the banished lords in the reign of James V., and of others who had in like manner either been exiled from their country, or had fled from it to avoid justice-or injustice; they certainly also included many refugees who had adopted the Reformed faith and removed to England for safety from persecution, and perhaps some of the industrious and peace-loving inhabitants

of the southern counties, who sought in England that quiet which their own country had not enjoyed for forty years. Among them we may probably include "James Harryson, Scottisheman," whose appeal to his countrymen before Pinkie is one of the tracts printed in the Appendix.

In Chap. XIII. the "affligit lady" undertakes to explain the chief cause of the deplorable familiarity between England and Scotland, which she finds in the intercourse at markets and conventions on the borders, an intercourse directly opposed to the laws of the two countries, which declared that Scotch and English, like Jews and Samaritans, should have no dealings with each other. The writers of the tracts, on the other side, had used as an argument for the union of the two nations the oneness of their language, character, and customs, but Dame Scotia, while, curiously enough, admitting the unity of language, finds the two peoples utterly opposed in nature and "complexion," and favours us with an analysis of the English and Scottish characters, very much, of course, in favour of that of her own children. It may be contrasted with the equally partial delineation of Higden in the Polychronicon, "Scottes ben light of herte, straunge and wylde ynough, but by medlyng (mixing) of Englyshemen they ben moche amended: they ben cruell upon theyr enemyes, & hateth bondage moost of ony thynge, and holde for a foul slothe yf a man deye in his bed, & grete worshyp yf he dye in ye felde. They ben lytell of meate, and mowe faste longe, and eten selde whan the sun is up; and ete fleshe, fyshe, mylke, and frute, more than brede: and though they ben fayre of shappe, they ben defouled, and made unsemely ynough with theyr owne clothyng. They prayse faste the usage of theyr owne forfaders, and despysen Theyr londe is fruytfull ynough in pasture, other mennes doynge. gardyns and feldes." For this character the authority of Giraldus is cited. The English are thus described :-- "In beryng outward, they ben mynstrales and herawdes; in talkynge, grete spekers; in etynge and drynkynge, glotons; in gaderynge of catell, hucksters and tauerners; in araye, tourmentours; in wynnynges, Argy; in trauayll, Tantaly; in talkynge lude, Dedaly; in beddes, Sardanapaly; in chirches, mawmetes; in courtes, thonder; onely in preuelege of

clergye and in prebendes, the knowledge themselfe clerkes." An amusing speech of the Duke of Exeter to Henry V., in 1414, on the character of the Scotch and their dependence on France, is recorded in Hall's Chronicle (Edn. 1809, p. 55): "Scotland is like a noun adjective that cannot stand without a substantiue. Their nature is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to defende their countree like brute beastes, thinkyng their rusticall fashion to be high honestie, and their beggerly liuyng to bee a welfare."

The result of the familiar intercourse between the two countries, our author goes on to say, has been that the king of England has been enabled to tamper with sundry gentlemen of Scotland; and there are traitors that, for the sake of private interest, do not scruple to reveal all the deliberations of the Scottish Council to England, so that within twenty hours a full account of all that has been done is presented in Berwick, and three days after, the Berwick Post delivers it in London. With the light that has of late years been thrown on the secret history of the period by the revelations of the State Papers, we know that the practices reprobated by the author prevailed to an extent which even he probably did not dream of. There were few indeed of the Scottish nobles or gentry, who, for English gold, were not willing to volunteer their services (often, it is true, but indifferently performed) as spies to the king of England; and the author's denunciation of the avarice which had "blyndit the reason and infekkit the hartis" of so many of his countrymen who were ready for their "particular profit" to let the common-weal go to the devil, was by no means beside the mark.

In the middle of this chapter three leaves, 72 to 74, have been cancelled; they perhaps contained a further collection of ancient examples of the demoralizing effects of avarice. Lest persuasion and invective should fail to arrest these traitors, Chap. XIV. quotes divers classical and scriptural instances to show that conspirators are always punished, even by those who have profited by their treason. The fate of the chief citizens of Capua, of Pausanias, the Amalekite who slew Saul, Rechab and Baanah, Bessus, and the Black Jacobin Friar who poisoned the Emperor Henry, are recounted at large and held up as warnings.

Thus far Dame Scotia has had the talk all to herself, but now the third son seizes an opportunity to reply, by pointing out that the vices denounced by his disconsolate mother are chargeable on his two brothers, Nobility and Spirituality, but not on himself; and in Chapter XV. he pours forth his lamentable wail against his unnatural kinsmen, who are far more cruel to him than the "ald enemies of ingland." Like a dull ass he is kicked and prodded, and obliged like a body-slave to "ryn & rasche in arage and carriage," i. e. servitude for tillage of the landlord's ground and carrying in his crop at harvest time. Bitter are his complaints against the oppression exercised by the landlords, temporal and spiritual, who plunder him of his "cornis and cattel," and raise his tacks and steadings to such a rent that he is reduced to beggary and starvation. Moreover, he is forced to lend and entrust his little savings to his oppressors, and on daring to ask repayment, is cuffed, kicked, and even killed. That this miserable picture of the state of the commonalty of Scotland is in no point overdrawn, we know only too well from witnesses who wrote both before and after the date of the Complaint. Lyndesay's Satyre of the Thre Estaitis, 1540, shows us the common process by which an honest industrious husbandman was turned, by the united offices of priest and laird, into a vagrant pauper.

PAUPER. Gude-man, will ze gif me zour charitie, And I sall declair 30w the black veritie. My father was ane auld man and ane hoir, And was of age fourscoir of zeirs and moir; And Mald, my mother, was fourscoir and fyfteine; And with my labour I did thame baith susteine. Wee had ane Meir that caryit salt and coill; And ever ilk zeir scho brocht vs hame ane foill. Wee had thrie ky, that was baith fat and fair-Nane tydier into the toun of Air. My father was sa waik of blude and bane That he deit; quhairfoir my mother maid great maine. Then scho deit, within ane day or two; And thair began my povertie and wo. Our gude gray Meir was baittand on the feild, And our Lands laird tuik hir for his hyreild. The Vickar tuik the best Cow be the head, Incontinent quhen my father was deid; And, quhen the Vickar hard tel how that my mother Was dead, fra-hand he tuke to him ane vther. Then Meg, my wife, did murn both evin and morow Till at the last scho deit for verie sorow.

And quhen the Vickar hard tell my wyfe was dead, The thrid Cow than he cleikit be the head. Thair vmest clayis, that was of rapploch gray, The Vickar gart his Clark bear them away. Quhen all was gaine, I micht mak na debeat, Bot, with my bairns, past forth till beg my meat. Now haue I taide 30w the blak veritie, How I am brocht into this miserie.

DILIGENCE. How did the persone? Was he not thy gude freind?

PAUPER. The deuil stick him! He curst me for my teind,

And halds me zit vnder that same proces,

That gart me want the Sacrament at Pasche.—1. 1971—2004.

Ten years after the date of the Complaynt, William Lauder published his "Lamentatioun of the Pure," with its burden, "How lang, Lord! sall this Warld indure?" and in his "Mirrour" thus addressed the gentry:

3our gredynes! it stinkis and fylis the air!
I vg 3our Murther and Hirschip to declair!
For thocht 3e sla nocht pure men with 3our knyues,
3it with 3our dearth 3e tak from thame the liues!

The pure Plewmen and lauboraris of your lands, Quhen tha haue nocht to fill your gredie hands, Quhair 3e can spye ane man to geue 30w mair, 3e schute thame furth; syne puts ane vther thair. Howbeit the first haue Bairnis aucht or nyne, 3e tak no thocht, thocht man and all sulde tyne; Within few 3eris 3e herye him also, Syne puts him furth; to beggin most he go; Thus schift 3e our, in to most gredie wyse, The quhilk ane Vengeance from the Heauin cryis. 3it for all this 3e neuer ar content! Howbeit 3e haue, be fer mair land and rent Nor euer had 3our Fatheris 30w before; Bot euer gredie, and gaping still for more.

Lyndesay had in his Satyre represented King Correction as redressing these grievances, but we find from Henrie Charteris's Preface to his Complete Works, published the same year that Lauder wrote, that his exposure of the wrongs under which the Commons groaned had had little permanent effect.

"Quhat laubouris tuke he (Lyndesay), that the landis of this cuntrie micht be set out in Fewis, eftir ye fassioun of sindrie vthir Realmes, for the incres of policie and riches. But quhat hes he profitit? Quhen ane pure man with his haill raice and offspring hes laubourit out thair lyfis on ane lytill peice of ground, and brocht it to sum point and perfectioun: then must the Lairdis brother, kin-

nisman, or surname, haif it; and ye pure man with his wyfe and babeis for all yair travellis, schot out to beg yair meit. He yat tuke lytill laubouris on it, mon enioy ye frutis, and commoditeis of it: he man eit vp the sweit & laubouris of ye pure mannis browis. Thus the pure dar mak na policie, nor bigging, in cace yai big yame selfis out. Bot althoucht men wink at yis, jit He sitts abone yat seis it, and sal iuge it. He yat heiris ye sichis and complaintis of ye pure oppressit, sal not for euer suffer it vnpunischit. Quhat hes he alswa written aganis yis Heriald hors, deuyset for monie pure mannis hurt? Bot quha hes dimittit it? And gif he had leifit in yir lait dayis, quhat had he said, of ye vnnatural murtheris: ye cruel slauchteris: ye manifest reiffis: ye continuall heirschippis: ye plane oppressionis: ye lytill regard of all persones to ye common-weilth?"

After this picture of his position in the "good old times," the labourer gives us a bit of his philosophy. He is vulgarly reputed for the youngest brother, but is in truth the eldest, existing long before his "twa brether," nobles and clergy, came into being. truth he had created their state, though now they profess to be gentlemen forsooth, and to despise him as an untutored rustic. They would fain have it that they are the descendants of angels and archangels, and not of Adam, forgetful of the many instances of distinguished men that have risen from the ranks of the poor. With regard to Dame Scotia's special accusation, it is not the commonalty who are guilty of treason. They have neither the power nor the opportunity, and all conspiracies are fomented by the great. As to taking assurance of the English, what else can the commons do? There is no help in the nobles and clergy, as some who have trusted to them have found to their sad experience. That such was the bare truth, we find from the "Diurnal of Occurrents."

"1544. Vpoun the xvij day of December the lieutennent past to Haddingtoun, quhair thair suld have met him the lardis of Lowthiane, quha com nocht; and thairefter past to Tamptalloun, and thair held his zule, and tuke litill heid to the cuntrie, but let thame doe for thameselfis, quhilk causit the cuntrie to be clene herijt; the cuntrie seiand na helpe of the lieutennant, maid bandis amang thame selffis that ilk ane sould help vtheris, quhairamang was greit watches, ilk ane efter his degrie."

No wonder the narrator has to add, "And the cuntre was all Ingliemen sworne, seing na help."

But this attachment to England, the labourer continues, is only

pretended, under that necessity which owns no law; give them but leaders, and a prospect of a successful resistance to the yoke, and their lives and goods will be freely risked in defence of their country. The truth of this was soon shown after the arrival of the French auxiliaries, who supplied the needed rallying-point.

The Labourer's Complaynt, thus analyzed, forms one of the most important and interesting chapters in the book, and no one can read it without feeling that the author thoroughly felt the force of the sentiments which he put in the mouth of the commonalty, albeit in the next chapter he points out that they are by no means themselves devoid of fault.

Chap. XVI. is Dame Scotia's answer to her youngest son. declines to give ear to his excuses, or to look at his accusation against his two brothers, until he shall have cleared himself from fault. The commonalty deserve punishment no less than the nobles and spirituality, for if their overt acts have not been so bad, that arises solely from lack of opportunity. Then we have the usual argument about the unfitness of the lower orders for liberty, as if men ripened for freedom under slavery, and liberty were a privileged position instead of a condition of growth in any position. The meetings of the commons are described in terms which remind us of too many working-class meetings still; and then we have a description of the labourer viewed from the standpoint of his superiors, which, I think, quite comes up to anything we used to hear of the character of the negro during the old slavery days. He is worse than the brute beast, having all the brutal passions without the compensating instincts: intemperate, lustful, unbridled, lazy; he is steady only by compulsion, and only sometimes then. Give him freedom indeed! what next? We have heard such arguments used of Jamaica in the nineteenth century, and it is well for those free-born Britons who now talk so contemptuously of, and, when they have the chance, tyrannize so unmercifully over, the "inferior races," to read what their superiors said of their fathers in England for centuries after the conquest, and in Scotland in the sixteenth century. They will probably find that oppression engenders in all skins the same vices, and in all oppressors the same moral blindness.

But it will sometimes happen that one of these besotted, brutalized creatures will "conquer riches and heretagis;" then he becomes more ambitious and arrogant than any lord, and his children, for want of education, exhibit all the odious characteristics of the parvenu. Hence they speedily revert to the base degree from which their fathers rose. In early times it was said of the English serf,

"Give the villein of gold his fill,
What will he be but a villein still?"

In the same spirit the author of the Complaynt (or Dame Scotia rather—one really forgets that an allegorical personage is supposed to be speaking) quotes the question of the "Preist of Peblis in ane beuk that he compilit," "Quhy burges ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr?" and adds, that what the priest asked as to the heirs of townsfolks might with equal force be asked of the universal commonalty both "to burgh and land." "The thrie Tailes of the thrie Priests of Peblis," is a Scottish poem attributed to the reign of James III., 1460-1488, which survives, however, only in an edition printed (very incorrectly) by Robert Charteris in 1603, from which it has been successively printed by Pinkerton in 1792, and (in part) by Sibbald in 1801, and by David Laing, in his "Early Metrical Tales," Edin. 1826, p. 105. Instead of being, as might be supposed from the reference in the Complaynt, a book compiled by a priest of Peebles, it is a metrical tale of three priests who meet together on St Bride's day for the purpose of regaling themselves, and, while their capons are roasting, agree that each shall in turn tell a story to amuse the others. The first tale, "tald be maister Iohne," relates of a certain king, who, assembling together the Three Estates of his realm, propounds to each of them a question; of the Burgesses he asks.

> "Quhy Burges bairns thryves not to the thrid air, Bot casts away it that thair eldars wan?"

of the Nobility,

"Quhairfoir and quby, and quhat is the cais, Sa worthie Lords war in my eldaris days; Sa full of fredome, worship, and honour, Hardie in hand to stand in everie stour, And now in yow I find the haill contrair?" The Spirituality are asked why it is that, since in old times so many bishops and clergy had power by their prayers to heal all manner of suffering and "al gude warkis to wirk," their successors now find their strongest resource in cursing; "quhairfoir may not ye, as thay did than?" The answers are given at length, after due consultation, with great humour and point; in that of the Burgesses, we have a vivid picture of the labour, diligence, and self-denial, by which a poor trader would raise himself to a wealthy merchant; while his bairns, born to affluence, "begin not quhair thair fatheris began," and unchastened by a youth subjected to the yoke, speedily scatter all to the winds, "Can never thryue, bot of all baggis is bair." We hope that Mr Laing, whose book is now very scarce, will soon give us the long-promised new edition of this and the other pieces in his "Early Metrical Tales."

Chap. XVII. Having thus, with palpable exaggeration, which might arouse, but could scarcely convict, disposed of the vices of the Commons, Dame Scotia turns with more moderate language but weightier argument to those of the nobility and gentlemen, if such indeed they are to be called, who have scarce a spark of nobleness or "gentrice" among them. A gentleman ought to be the reverse of a villein or carl. The origin of a privileged class is then discussed, and a picture of the golden age

## "When Adam delved and Eve span,"

and people drank no wine or beer, or other "confekkit" drinks, or rummaged foreign lands for spices, herbs, drugs, gums, or sugar, to provoke a disordered appetite; nor did they wear sumptuous clothing of fine cloth and gold, and silk of diverse hues. It was after the entry of the Iron age that men, to escape oppression, began to choose them governors and defenders who formed the first nobles and gentlemen. But true nobility is not hereditary, and when the progeny of nobles and gentlemen cease to do noble and gentle deeds, they ought to be degraded from their privileged position as "lasche couardis, vilainis, and carlis." Such a process would thin the ranks of the Scottish nobility, whose imbecility, avarice, and contentions, are unworthy of the ensigns and honours which they had inherited.

The writer of the "Diurnal of Occurrents" can tell us something of this also:

"1544. Vpoun the thrid day of Junij, thair was ane generall counsall haldin at Stirling, quhairat was all the nobillis of Scotland, exceptand the erle of Lennox and Glencarne; quhair the gouernour was dischargit of his auctorite and maid proclamatiouns, throw the realme that nane obeyit him as gouernour. And als thair thai chesit thrie erlis, thrie lordis, thrie bischopis, thrie abbotts, to be the secreit counsale; quhilk lastit nocht lang, for euerie lord did for his awne particulare proffeit, and tuke na heid of the commounweill, but tholit the Inglismen and thevis to overrin this realme. Thair was na credit amang the nobilitie at this present."

Little wonder! When they did show themselves busy at an occasional time, men knew there was sure to be a carcase at hand, since the vultures were thus flocking together:

"1545. Vpoun the xxviij day of September, the Parliament was haldin in Linlithgow, quhair the maist part of the nobillis wes. It was suspectit thaj com for land, becaus few was at the Parliament befoir. In this Parliament was foirfaltit the erle of Lennox, his brothir, the bischope of Cathnes, and the laird of Tulibarden wes respletit. Thair landis was delt, pairt to the erle of Argyle, maister of Sympill, and pairt to the erle of Huntlie, quha gat the bischoprik of Cathnes at this parliament. The lordis made ane taxt throw the realme, of ilk pund land of ald extent, to pay viij shillingis to fie men on the bordouris."

In similar terms James Harryson, Scottisheman, in 1547, had characterized the indifference of the nobility and clergy to the misery of the country:

"If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the feldes lie ful of their bodies, whose deathes thei moste cruelly and vnchristianly haue procured. If Edenbrough, Lieth, Louthian, Mers, or Tiuidale had tongues to speake, their loude complainte would perse the deafe eares. . . . . . . If these [authors of the mischief] should fele but half the miserie which the poore people be driven to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes."

It is his own virtue, our author goes on to say, and not the honour of his predecessors, that makes a man noble; and, tested by this standard, counterfeit nobility is plentiful in Scotland. Some of the "counterfeit" Scottish nobles and gentlemen were ashamed that their ancestors had been of plebeian rank,—evidently Scotland had already some who would have been glad to believe, like the Highland Laird, that at the general Flood his ancestor had a "private airk o' his nain," when Noah's more vulgar vessel contained the ancestors of common mortals. To teach them better manners, our author relates the conduct of Agathocles, king of Sicily, who boasted of his father having been a potter. Moreover, the longest line begins in mud and clay, and in this clay there is no distinction of ranks, as indeed there will not be when dust shall have received back its own. To enforce this, we have an anecdote of Cyrus and Crossus, and diverse quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. A chief form taken by the prodigality of the Scottish nobles is said to have been costly clothing above their means—for which, see the monstrous hose denounced by William Lauder-and the keeping of large numbers of horses and dogs. Like the horses of Diomede and the hounds of Acteon, these may be said to worry men, for not only do they eat up the substance of their owners, but they devour the poor people as well by consuming the food of the country which the universal dearth has already made scanty enough.

The five leaves, 112—116, in which this chapter ends and the next begins, are cancels, representing four original leaves, showing that the author in his recension made great alterations in the next chapter, which treats of the Spirituality. The latter chapter ought to have been, and before these alterations evidently was, XVIII.; it is now numbered XIX.; the original Chap. XIX., which ought to have followed, having been at the same time taken out of the book altogether, leaving a gap of sixteen pages, from leaf 118 to 126, as hereafter noted.

In reading the Reproof of the Spirituality, we discover a considerable difference of treatment between it and the complaints against the nobles and commons. These two orders had been accused of very special and distinct offences; but in dealing with the clergy, while we have very orthodox representations of the greater heinousness of those who sin against light, and the power-lessness of good precept when unaccompanied by good practice;

while we have general exhortations to the clergy to repent their negligence and remedy their long "abusion;" the author does not "condescend" upon any particular forms in which this negligence and abusion manifested themselves. In reading the chapter, I have been reminded of the words of an eminent modern preacher: "A man will confess sins in general; but those sins which he would not have his neighbour know for his right hand, which bow him down with shame like a wind-stricken bulrush, those he passes over in his confession. Men are willing to be thought sinful in disposition; but in special acts they are disposed to praise themselves. therefore confess their depravity and defend their conduct. are wrong in general, but right in particular."1 God knows there were special enormities enough of which to reprove the clergy; and we can fancy what this reproof of the Spiritualitie would have been, if Sir David Lyndesay, for instance, had had the writing of it; 2 if any layman, indeed, in the Scotland of the day had had the writing of it; for this chapter is quite sufficient to convince me that the author of the Complaynt was himself an ecclesiastic. A good specimen of his class, I have no doubt he was, sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and with a healthy, not an acrid, hatred of schism; one who had sense enough to see, not the unrighteousness indeed—that we need not expect—but the blunder, the mistaken policy of burning schismatics, so long as the Spirituality remained in the "abusion, & sinister ministration," which had provoked "the scismas and divers sectis that trublis al cristiantie." Probably he had not a troop of bastard sons and daughters openly owned, and another assortment of spurious ones in the families of his parishioners, like so many of

<sup>1</sup> Henry Ward Beecher-"Life Thoughts."

I need hardly say "we can fancy"—we have specimens both before and after this date; ride his Complaynt, 409—448; the Commonyng betuix the Papyngo and her Holye Executoris; the Tragedie of the Cardinall in toto; Kitteis Confessioun; the Monarché, 608—684; 2279—2708; 5850—5925; and above all the Satyre, "the whole matter whereot," as Sir Ralph Eure wrote to England, concludes "upon the declaration of the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of the bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, called the consistory courts in Scotland, and the misusing of priests." The Early English Text Society have published Lyndesay's poems in full, and his "reproof of the Clergy" can be better read in situ than if I were to exhibit it in morsels here.

his celibate brethren; and with his notions of the duty of a priest to bear arms in battle, he would be above staying at home, debauching the wives and wasting the substance of the honest patriots who went to the war, like others of his cloth (vide Froude, chap. 18, p. 401); but from his very vague general reproof one never would suppose that the ecclesiastical system of the day was the monstrous compound of lust, fraud, extortion, and cruelty, which we find it in the pages of his contemporaries. He was, however, though evidently in all good faith and conscience, one of those abettors of their country's misery, of whom James Harryson, Scottisheman, had said:

"How much is their wikednes to be detested, which have kindled the fire and still laie on brandes to feede the same! In whom if either respect of Religion, which they professe, or zeale of Iustice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thing woorke, thei would refuse no trauaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for ye sauegarde of thaim, whose distruccion thei haue wrought. there bee onely twoo sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueled, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would have no peace nor concord. . . . These be their whiche professyng knowledge, abuve the ignoraunce of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, to yo destruccion of bothe, haueyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeaunce in their hartes, pretendyng religion, perswade rebellion, preachyng obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, callyng themselfes spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed heddes of the churche, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the churche. If these people would as earnestly trauail for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indeuour with toothe and naill to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaied, should either not have happened, or els at the leaste, not so long have continued; by whose lure, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in despaire of any amitie or frendeship betuene these two realmes. God bryng their falsehed once to light, and turne their iniquitie vpon their awne heddes."

But then the "Scottisheman" had clearly passed the boundary line between Romanism and Protestantism, and the author of the Complaynt was what would have been called in the nineteenth century an "Old Catholic," with reforming tendencies, but a shrinking from "scismas and sectis."

There was need for reform, too, upon other considerations than

those of abstract right, and the well-being of the country. English king once got Scotland in his clutches, the nobles and commons might feel his hand heavy enough, but the clergy—there's the rub—could only expect those terrible tender mercies of Henry VIII. which had made every churchman in Christendom shiver. Least of all would forbearance be shown to the spirituality of Scotland. whom—and in this friends and foes were quite at one—the English king reputed for his mortal enemies. Well he might, too, for from the minority of James V. to the breaking of the marriage contract and the spiriting away of the child-queen to France, it was the clergy who had stuck fast to the French side, and frustrated all the hopes of England. The chapter finishes with an Exhortation to the spiritual order to change their spiritual habits, "bayth coulis and syde gounis, in steil iakkis and in coitis of mailze," and assist their countrymen to repel the invasions of the enemy; after the war had been brought to a successful issue, they might reassume their, spiritual garb. That this might be lawfully, nay, laudably, done, he proves alike from scriptural example and from the Canon law, in which he here and elsewhere shows himself well versed. Even the Pope's license is not necessary for this action; the Canon law has expressly justified war against Saracens, and Englishmen are more Saracen than Christian; it has declared war against the excommunicated and the infidel to be meritorious, and the English are excommunicated and denounced God's rebels for their infidelity, unbelief, cruelty, tyranny, and sacrilege. It is to be feared the clergy were as deaf to admonition as the laity. So, at least, says the writer of one of the "Gude and Godly Ballates," referring to this very war:

"Scotland was neuer in harder case,
Sen Fergus first it wan:
The preistis we may fairly ban,
Quhilk hes the wyte that brak the peace
For to put downe the word of Christ.
Ane hundreth thousand thay wald se
30ckit in till ane feild,
Under the speir and sheild;
Bot with the wyfis thay wald be
At hame, to smoir the word of Christ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reprinted by David Laing from the original edition of 1578, p. 159, "I am wo for thir wolfis sa wylde."

Defend na mair thir wolfis sa wylde, Sa ful of cruelnes, Thair cloikit halynes, Baith men and wyfis sa lang hes fylde, And ar the verray Antichristis."

After the Reproof of the Spirituality, as we have already seen, a chapter extending over sixteen pages has been subsequently rescinded, and in Chap. XX. Dame Scotia concludes her exhortations with an address to her three sons in general. She recounts anew the evils of intestine strife which had rendered Scotland the theatre of all the various kinds of war described in history. Among these the author mentions that he has seen nine or ten thousand men collected in an illegal manner for the violent ejection of tenants, or the seizure of a poor man's teind or tithe in harvest; a witness to the way in which the barons and churchmen took the law into their own hands when the country had no effective ruler.

If the weeping philosopher and his laughing brother were to traverse Scotland, both would find matter enough to exercise their diverse humours. On this subject the author quotes six lines from the Italian poet, Philiremo Fregoso, and gives us a specimen of his own talent in versifying, by translating the same into Scottish metre. The three plagues with which the book began-war, hunger, and pestilence—are again mentioned; they abound indeed in all the literature of the time. The Scottisheman, in 1547, had deplored the fruite which the "warre bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes, murder of men, rauishment of women, slaughter of olde folke and infantes, burnyng of houses, and corne, with hunger and pestilence, twoo buddes of the same tre." To us now, trying to pierce the mist of three centuries, the war stands out in darkest outline on the horizon, but the famine which followed the destruction of the corn crops, and the pestilence which, like a shadow, stalked behind the famine, were perhaps even more severely felt by the sufferers. To one reading the domestic history of Scotland in the 16th century, every third year seems to bring a famine, and every sixth the pestilence. "Little doubt is now entertained that the exanthematous disease called long ago the Pest, and now the Plague, and which has happily been unknown in the British

Islands for two centuries, was the consequence of miasma arising from crowded and filthy living, acting on bodies predisposed by deficient aliment and other causes, and that at a certain stage it assumed a contagious character. It will be found that the malady generally, though not invariably, followed dearth and famine—a generalisation harmonizing with the observations of Professor Alison as to the connection between destitution and typhus fever, and supporting the views of those who hold that it is for the interest of the community that all its members have a sufficiency of the necessaries of life." How the Pest—the Plague of God, Harryson calls it—haunted the country all these dismal years of strife, we see from occasional entries in the Diurnal of Occurrents, already quoted:

"1545. In this tyme (Aug. 9) the Pest was wonder greit in all burrowis townis of this realme, quhair mony peipill diet with greit akant and want of victuallis.

"1549. Vpoun the xiiij day (of Septr), the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidingtoun, and past away without ony battell, for the Pest and hungar was rycht evill amangis tham, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin."

And in November, 1548, the following entry occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts (Compot. Thesaur. 1546-50. General Register House, Edin.):<sup>2</sup>

"The Quenis Grace [the child Mary Stuart] being suspect of the Pest, the Treasurer paid for the expensis of his Graces douchter, Lady Barbara, eight dayis in Alexander Guthries chalmer in the Castle-hill, being with hir in cumpany with three other gentlewomen with thair servantis, ijli. xixs. iijd."

The Pest has left its mark deeply in the popular traditions of Scotland; numerous stories relate its ravages; in many districts conical mounds, in some cases natural, in others human works of the prehistoric ages, are accounted for by a legend of a cottage in which the Pest had broken out, when the whole horror-struck inhabitants of the surrounding district assembled, each man with his stone, and buried up the dwelling with its ill-fated occupants from human sight. Almost everywhere, too, large flat stones or throughs (Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> Robt. Chambers -- Domestic Annals of Scotland, sub. 1568.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D. Laing, in Additional Note to Lauder's Poems, Early Eng. Text Soc., No. 41, 1870.

Saxon purh, a coffin) are pointed out, in the lonely glen, or on the bare moor, under which the Pest is supposed to be buried, and which the peasant is careful never to move. Leyden, in his "Scenes of Infancy," tells us of Denholm Dean, in Teviotdale:

"Mark, in you vale, a solitary stone,
Shunn'd by the swain, with loathsome weeds o'ergrown!
The yellow stone-crop shoots from every pore,
With scaly, sapless lichens crusted o'er:
Beneath the base, where starving hemlocks creep,
The yellow pestilence is buried deep,
Where first its course, as aged swains have told,
It stayed, concentred in a vase of gold;"

and relates an associated legend, similar to that of the well-kncwn tale of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray.<sup>1</sup>

To avoid the three plagues, the "affligit Lady" exhorts her children to turn their hearts unto God, and their affection towards each other, and fortifies her exhortation with various stories from ancient history, illustrative of the strength of unity and the weakness of division. Turning once more to the treason of which so many of the nobility are accused, she is willing to believe that some of them are falsely slandered by the Commons, but reminds them that the proper course for men under suspicion is to clear themselves by some signal deed of valour against the enemy, as divers of the ancient heroes did when they were unjustly suspected. Finally, she devotes a parting word to the neutrals—from her earnestness, evidently still a numerous party—who, when they spake with Englishmen, cursed the fickleness of the Scottish lords that had broken their promise and bond, honestly contracted, to complete the marriage of the two youthful sovereigns; and when they spake with Scotsmen, deplored the dissensions of the Scotch, which rendered them vulnerable to the falsehood and subtilty of the English. These she implores to cease from their do-nothing-ism, which will land them in the end between the two chairs, both of which they try to secure. War is preferable to an insecure peace. No peace

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Poems and Ballads of Dr John Leyden, edited by Robert White of Newcastle. Kelso, J. & J. H. Rutherfurd, 1858, p. 154; where in the notes a large number of Pest-legends are given. See also on this subject Chambers's Edin. Journal, 1833, i. 7; 1842, x. 11.

must be made with England, except on conditions humiliating to that power, and which, translated into practical language, meant Never!

The book ends with a quotation from Cicero, "Nihil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam ex insipientium sermone pendere," having no discernible bearing upon the context, and seemingly explicable only on the supposition of Leyden, that the author did not give his name, but preferred thus obscurely to hint the folly of a wise man by disclosure of his identity, making his life depend on the suffrages of fools.

"A Historian of extensive erudition, and indefatigable research, terms the Complaynt of Scotland 'a most curious piece, well written. and fraught with great learning—the only classic work in old Though the position thus claimed for it by Scotish prose." Pinkerton can by no means be conceded, we may agree with Dr Leyden "that the Complaynt is well written and fraught with great learning. The style of remark is shrewd and forcible, though frequently quaint and affected; and the arrangement of the materials, though sometimes careless, is not devoid of method. The refining, logical mode of demonstrating the plainest truisms was the fault of the age, as it had formerly been that of the scholastic philosophers, and some traces of the habit may be observed in the Complaynt. The author displays a degree of erudition which, in a refined age, would be denominated pedantry, but which, at that early period, did not deserve so severe an appellation. After the discovery of the ancient models, the general admiration which they excited, while it established the principles of taste upon a sure basis, produced, in an equal degree, a servility of understanding, which never considered that 'no ancient of them all was so old as Common Sense.' For this reason the author of the Complaynt, instead of establishing his opinion by solid and rational arguments, is often contented with exhibiting his authority or exempil. This species of reasoning, however inconclusive, is attended with the advantage, that it informs us what kind of reading was fashionable, and what authors were popular when the work was composed." The following is a list of authors cited in the Complayat; and it may be noticed, that in

no case does the original of any Greek author appear to be quoted; Greek was only struggling for recognition at Oxford and Cambridge; it was not till after the Reformation that it became an ordinary acquirement of the Scholar.

AUTHORITIES CITED. Aristotle, Politics; St Augustine; Boccaccio; Boethius; Carion's Chronicle; Cato; Cicero, De Officiis, Parod., De Finibus, Epistolæ; Diodorus; Josephus; Justin; Juvenal; Lactantius; Livy; Mimus Publianus; Persius; Philiremo Fregoso; Plutarch; Priest of Peebles; Sallust; Seneca the tragedian; Thucydides; Valerius Maximus; Vincentius; besides many references to the Civil and Canon Law, to the Annals of Rome, and to the Old and New Testament, with the Apocryphal books, when the Vulgate is of course always quoted.

### THE SUBSEQUENT ADDITIONS TO THE MONOLOGUE.

The fact of these additions has already been discussed; as to the cause of them, I can only suggest that, by the time the work was printed, either the flame of the author's patriotism had begun to burn less fiercely, or the course of events had rendered his work less necessary; and he, fond parent, anxious that his literary child should present some attractions to commend it to public esteem, made these miscellaneous additions that those who cared nothing for his patriotism might be attracted by his physical science, and those who cared not for physical science might be moved by his music or tickled by his tales.

According to these additions, then, the author, after listening to the cries of the animals which saluted the awakening day, made his way to the sea-side, where he became spectator of a naval conflict between a galiasse—a broad vessel moved at once by oars like a galley and by sails, and another ship. The whole scene strongly suggests passages in Lyndesay's *Dreme*, the author of which, likewise, after describing a rural scene, passes in pensive mood to the sea-shore, where he has his dream, and is awakened from it by the "felloun fray" of a ship, when

<sup>&</sup>quot;Al hir Cannounis scho leit crak of at anis."

The account in the Complaynt is, however, much fuller and more valuable, inasmuch as it preserves to us the sea-cries then in use, several of which also are the same still, as well as a list of the various kinds of artillery and firearms known in Scotland early in the 16th century. "The cheers and terms," says Leyden, "are chiefly of Norman and Flemish origin, and, with many others of a similar kind, were preserved to a late period, by that singular race of men, the fishers of the east coast of Scotland, many of whom have hardly, at this day, abandoned the peculiar habits and phraseology by which they were long distinguished from the pastoral and agricultural inhabitants of the interior parts of the country." To me they seem, to a great extent, to be Lowland Scotch, phonetically spelt as heard; the author himself says that he will "reherse & report ther crying and ther cal," although he "wist nocht quhat thai menit." I am bound to say still less should I, a landsman barely knowing starboard from larboard, and I therefore gladly insert the following notes upon the subject, which Mr Furnivall has kindly procured for me from a friend of ample naval experience, Mr G. M. Hantler.

"In the first the master of the galiasse caused the boatswain to pass up to the top, &c. Then the master whistled (the boatswain whistles now), and bade the mariners lay the cable to the windluss, to wind and weigh [the anchor]. Then the mariners began to wind the cable (the cable is wound about three turns round the windlass, and the anchor is weighed, or lifted from the bottom, by turning or winding the windlass by means of handspikes), with many loud cry; and as one cried, all the rest cried as it had been an echo (they all cry together, as it is necessary that they pull together), one man leading with a few words, some of which are the same now as in the Complaynt. 'Oh, one and all ! heigho!' the rest then sing 'Cheerily man,' pulling with the words 'Wind, I see him, haul him up.' [The words in the Complaynt seem to be "Ware all! ware all! gentle gallants! wind, I see him, pourbossa (!pu' our best a'), haul all and one, haul him up to us!"—J. A. H. M.] Then when the anchor was hauled up above the water, &c., caupona = cat head him? (The cable passes through the hawse hole, close to the stem of the vessel, the anchor hanging there would stop the vessel's way and would cut through the stem; it is therefore brought round to the Cat-head on the bow of the vessel, which is sufficient for a vessel working by tides in a tide-way, but in a sea-way it is necessary to

fish the anchor, i. e. to bring up the flukes, so that it lies horizontal.) And the master whistled 'Two men aloft to the foreyard, loose the raibands, i. e. yard bands, gaskets (flat small yarn plaited flat like ladies' hair, bending the sails to the yard), and let fall the fore sail; haul down the starboard luff (we say tack now) hard aboard; haul aft the fore sheet (sail not now used), haul out the bow-line.

"The upper part of the fore-sail being fixed to the yard, the lower ends are each provided with two ropes, called the tack and the sheet. There is a starboard tack and sheet, and a larboard ditto; there is also a block on each side of the deck to make fast the tacks, and a sheave over the bulwarks and outside the vessel, through which the sheet is brought and made fast inside. The starboard luff or tack being hard a board, means that the wind was from the starboard side, and hard a board, that she was close hauled, either a foul wind or nearly so. The bow-line is a small rope attached to the edge of the sail to keep it from shaking or lifting. [The words to which this is done, seem to be, "Ho! ho! Pull, pull all! bow line all! ——, haul out stiff, before the wind; God send fair weather! many prizes! good foreland; stop! make fast, and belay!"

J. A. H. M.]

'Then the master cried, and bade rein a bonnet, vire the trosses, now hoist, and the mariners began to hoist up the sail':

"A bonnet can scarcely be a bonnet-sail, which would only be set after all the ordinary sail; the sail next in order would be one of the head sails, viz. those from the bowsprit, called jibs or staysails, because they run upon small wooden hoops up the stays, or support to the masts. A bonnet is now often attached to a jib in a yacht or small vessel; it may once have been the name of the sail. 'Now heise' shows that it was to be raised from the level of the deck or bowsprit. The words 'More might, young blood, great and small, one and all,' are used still in the hauling songs. [The Complaynt has in full "Hoist all, —, wow! wow! a long draught, more might, young blood, more mood, false flesh, lie aback, long swack (= jerk), that, that! there, there! yellow hair, hips bare, to him all, gallows-birds all, great and small, young and all, hoist all." J. A. H. M.] 'Make fast the tiers'—now the haulyards. Then the master cried 'Top your topinels, i. e. set your topsails; haul out your top-sail sheets'; the sheets, already explained, are hauled out to the yard-arm below them; they require no tacks as the lower sail do, as they change tacks by the wind carrying them round. 'Vire your lifters', = loose or let go your clew-lines, 'and your top sail trosses or braces, and hoist the top sail higher, haul out the top sail bowline': when a sail is furled, the two lower ends, called the cleus to which the sheets are fixed, are hauled up to the yard to which the upper part of the sail is attached, by means of clew lines attached to

the clew and to the centre of the yard (the bunt), and as they thus lift the sail to the bunt, may have been called lifters; to set the sail, these must be loosed, as also the bunt-lines, which are small ropes attached to the lower ends of the sail towards the centre, bringing up the belly of the sail to the yard. The braces on the top-sail yard which would be hauled tight—taught, sailors say to steady the yard when furling the sail, must be loosed when the yard is to be hoisted. When the sails are furled, all the upper yards are lowered on to the cap; when set, they are raised to the top of their several masts. 'Hoist the mizen and change it over to leeward': the mizen is the fore and aft sail on the mast nearest the stern; it is fixed aloft to a gaff,—not a yard—and below to a boom, and this boom required swinging over to leeward before the sail was set, or the wind would have done so, and probably taken the helmsman's head along with it. 'Haul the linche, and the sheets, haul the brace to the yard': linche I can't make out [Leyden says 'linch-pin or linspin for belaying the ropes on']; the sheet is here hauled out to the end of the boom; the brace was hauled from the gaff to the yard, after the sail was set to keep it steady. Then the master cried to the helmsman, 'Mate, keep [her] full and by, a luff—i. e. close to the wind—but come no higher; holabar'—this word I give up,— 'arryua' as you are; 'steer clear up the helm—this and so'—thus and so we say, meaning 'keep her as you are now going.' Then when the ship was tackled, i. e. all her sail set, or all her gear upon her, the master cried, 'Boy! to the top [mast head], shake out the flag; take in your topsails and furl them, pull down the nook or corner of the yard dagger-wise'-apparently furling the top-gallant sail because the wind was too strong, and pointing the yard toward the wind, so that it should offer less resistance to it. 'Mariners, stand by your gear in '-I should read and-' tackling of your sails', Afterwards the galiasse puts forth her stoytene, i. e. studding-sails, -small sails outside the others, carried only with a fair wind-and a hundred oars on each side to accelerate her speed."

The artillery seem to comprise most of the various kinds of guns then known: several of them are mentioned in Pitscottie's account of the Great Michael, a vessel of enormous magnitude, built by James IV., which "cumbered al Scotlande to put her to the see;" "she bare many cannons, six on every side, with three great bassils, two behind & one before; with three hundred shott of small artaillyarie, that is to say, myand and battert falcon and quarter falcon, slings, pestilent serpentens, and double dogs, with hagtor and culvering, corebows and handbows. She had three hundred marinellis to gouerne hir, six scoir of gunneris to vse hir artailly iarie,

& ane thowsand men of warr, by (i. s. besides) capitanes, skipperis, and quarter masteris."

Leaving the two vessels veiled in the smoke of powder, the author returns to the fields in time to see a party of shepherds, who had been early astir after their flocks, sit down to a breakfast al fresco brought out for them by their wives and children, and for which each was forearmed with a horn spoon in the lug of his bonnet—an outfit provided by reapers and other out-of-door labourers almost to the present day. After the repast, the chief shepherd makes an oration to his comrades, extolling the advantages and superiority of the pastoral life, and claiming for those of his occupation in ancient times the credit of first observing the motions of the heavenly bodies, and founding the sciences of astronomy and physics. To vindicate this claim, he himself gives a long scientific lecture, traversing the fields of astronomy and meteorology, with numerous excursions into the domain of astrology, and forming a useful popular compendium of the natural science of the time. The Solar system is of course described according to the Ptolemaic theory; but the author stoutly fights against St Augustine and other doctors of the Church in behalf of the Antipodes. His statement that the Milky Way was commonly known in Scotland as Watling Street, and his account of the dog-days, and of curious freaks of thunder, are among the points of special interest.

Having thus made the shepherd a mouthpiece for his scientific lore, the author next uses his dramatis personæ with less incongruity to introduce a list of the popular tales, songs, and dances then current in Scotland, by professing to give us the titles of them as they were said or sung by the shepherds, as a recreation after the dry "prolixt orison" of their leader. These lists are of the utmost value in connection with the history of Scottish Popular Literature—indeed, of the ballad literature of Great Britain as a whole, giving us our earliest data for the existence of many tales, ballads, and tunes. To them is, without doubt, due the chief part of the interest which the Complaynt has for the modern reader; and we cannot but be grateful to the author for the afterthought which led him to make this welcome addition to his book. The work of analyzing these

lists, very imperfectly done by Dr Leyden, from the lack of materials seventy years ago, has recently been done so thoroughly by Mr Furnivall in his Introduction to "Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books," edited by him for the Ballad Society, 1871, that my labour is altogether saved, and the following account is transferred entirely from Mr Furnivall's Introduction.

#### THE TALES.

(1) The taylis of cantirberrye. By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478, from a bad MS., and ab. 1484 from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus,) in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in The Workes (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wyllyam Bonham in 1542.

(2) Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie. The prose Life (from the French Romant de Robert le diable) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercyfullest and myscheuous Robert yo deuyll, whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Ihesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.; and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr Thoms reprinted this in vol. i. of his Early Popular Romances, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse Life, which, says Mr Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' 'a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library.' The verse romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS. 'which appears to have been transcribed word for word' (Thoms) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr Hazlitt's Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, i. 217—263: see also p. 264-9. (The

story is told by Mr Furnivall, Captain Cox, cxxxviii.)

(3) The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end. Volfe is, without doubt, a misprint for volle or velle = well. Robert Chambers, in his Popular Rhymes of Scotland, 1870, tells at p. 105-7 a fairy tale of "The Wal at the Warld's End" (Fife), whither a nasty queen, with a nastier daughter, sends the nice daughter of a king to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer, and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent, comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler, who licks her every day with a leather strap.

(4) Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mareit the deuyl. The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel<sup>1</sup>," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Otia Imperialia, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol. i, p. 978.

the Plantagenet family 1. Leyden, p. 237. Barbour mentions Earl Ferrand's mother in The Bruce, book iv, l. 241, etc., p. 85, ed. Skeat:

The erll ferrandis moder was Ane nygramansour, and sathanas Scho rasit, and him askit syne, Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone.

The devil gave an ambiguous answer; and the outcome was that the Earl

. . discumfit wes, & schent, (1. 280)

. . discumfit wes, & schent, And takyn, and to paris sent.

See also Complaynt, ch. x, p. 84, where the story is told among the 'exempils' of ambiguous responses.

(5) The taiyl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis. A.S. Eoten, a giant. "Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his Dreme, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V., to lull him asleep with 'tales of the red-etin and the gyre carlin.'" Leyden, p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the Complaynt, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue,

I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue
Off Hectour, Arthour, and gentyll Iulyus,
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,

Off Iasone and Media, all at lenth.

Off Iasone and Media, all at lenth,
Off Hercules the actis honorabyll,
And of Sampsone the supernaturall strenth,
And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll;
And off tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,—
Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioye,
And Seigis all, of Tyir, Thebes, and Troye.

The Prophiseis of Rymour, Beid, & Marlyng,
And of mony vther plesand storye,—

Off the reid Etin, and the gyir carlyng,—
Comfortsand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.

Robert Chambers, in his Popular Rhymes of Scotland, 1870, p. 89-94, prints "from Mr Buchan's curious manuscript collection"—an untrustworthy source, I assume—a fairy tale of the Red Etin of Ireland, a three-headed giant, who is killed by a poor widow's son who answers his three questions, "Whether Ireland or Scotland was first inhabited? Whether man was made for woman, or woman for man? Whether men or brutes were made first?" The young man frees the giant's prisoners, and among them a king's daughter, whom he marries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Forduni Scotichron, a Goodall, vol. 2, p. 9.

(6) The tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir. Ovid's Metamorphoses, iv. 663, etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.

(7) The prophysic of merlyne. [See ante, p. xlii-xlvi.]

(8) The tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men. [Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Bean-stalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to "Kings, Covenanters!" "Duck," or "Hy-Spy," we used to gather into an entry to "tell boglie tales," till our hair stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. M.]

(9) On fut, by fortht, as i culd found. That is, "On foot, by

Forth, as I did go." A ballad not now known.

(10) Vallace. Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 a.D. It is translated from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (Hazlit's Handbook). Many later editions exist. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.

(11) The bruce. By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only two MSS. of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487; the other in the Adv. Lib. Edin. is complete, dated 1489. Now being edited for the E. E. T. Soc. by Rev. W. W. Skeat; part I.

publ. 1870.

(12) Ypomedon. "The Life of Ipomydon." Colophon: "Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;" no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his Metrical Romances, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's Early English Metr. Rom., p. 505, etc., ed. Bohn. "The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Theban war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise." (Leyden, p. 240.)

(13) The tail of the three futtit dog of norroway. Robert Chambers gives the story of "The Black Bull of Norroway" in his Popular Rhymes, p. 95-99, and that of the similar "Red Bull of

Norroway" at p. 99-101.

(14) The tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis. Doubtless a short story from Ovid's Metamorphoses, ix. 70. The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: "The

History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, &c. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner." Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr Corser's second sale (Catalogue, p. 55), where was sold also "Hercules. Sensuyt les processes et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk l., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d."

(15) The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land. Can this be "King Estmere" in Percy's Reliques? Percy tore this bellad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600-7.

(16) Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye. Some Scandi-

navian legend.

(17) The tayl of the four sonnis of aymon. A translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle. Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1544, now in Bridgewater House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504.

For story see Mr Furnivall's Captain Cox, p. xx.

(18) The tayl of the brig of the mantribil. No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce it is said that Charlemagne

"... wan Mantrybill, and passed Flagot."

Ed. Pinkerton, i. 81 (Leyden, p. 237).

(19) The tail of syr euan, arthours knycht. No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of "Ywaine and Gawin," printed by Ritson in his Metrical Romances from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS. in the Royal Library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of King Arthour, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: Sagan af Ivent, Eingland Kappe;—the history of Ewain, Arthur's best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the Complaynt.—Sagan af Herra Bewus, the Romance of Sir Bevis."

(20) Rauf collzear. Dunbar, in his address "To the King," and Gawin Douglas, in his "Palice of Honour," mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that "Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuik, anno 1572,"

which Mr David Laing reprinted in his Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland, 1822: "Heire beginnis the taill of Rauf Collear, how he harbreit King Charlis." See Irving's History of Scotish Poetry, p. 88-92. A capital poem it is, that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of John the Reve in the Percy Folio (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it), and is told in humorous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

. . hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all Half the breid of the hall,

Mr Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent Select Remains. The volume contains

several English pieces.

(21) The seige of millan. Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century, Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the Complaynt tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.

(22) Gauen and gallogras. A titleless copy of 1508 is in the Adv. Lib. Edin., and its colophon is "Heir endis the Knyghtly tale of golagrus & gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinbrugh be Walter Chepman, & Androw Millar, the viii day of Aprile, the yhere of god M. cccc. and viij yheris." Edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. See Mr Furnivall's Capt. Cox, p.

xxxiv.

(23) Lancelot du lac. No early printed Scotch or English Lancelot is known; and we have only one MS., a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, printed by Mr Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (Lancelot of the Laik), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French Lancelot.

(24) Arthour knycht, he raid on nycht, vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.

Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses:

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie! How mony miles to Aberdeagie? 'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight; We'll no win there wi' candle light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.

(25) The tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the sec. This Tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of Roswall and Lilian (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's Early Metrical Tales, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
Or great Florent of Albanie,
My heart, if ye bear love to me;
Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
For your dearest true-love's sake;
Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green',
For the love of your Lady sheen.

(26) The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye. Leyden says (p. 230), "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (Scotichronicon, lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'cœperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.

(27) The tail of the pure tynt. "Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycoat,' a common nursery tale." Leyden, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashie-Coat' (Fife) is told in R. Chambers's Popular Rhymes, 1870, p. 66-8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of Cinderella."

(28) Claryades and maliades. No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr David Irving edited the romance of Clariodus from an imperfect MS. of about 1550 a.d., for Mr Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS., and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feastings, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland, &c., go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.

(29) Arthour of litil bertangse. This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as "Arthur of Brytayn. The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:" no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, Bibl. Cat. i. 63.) Colophon: "Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles churche yeard at the sygne of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).

Cocke by Roberte Redborne." Only two perfect copies exist, at

Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.

(30) Robene hude and litil ihone. The earliest edition known is from the press of Chepman and Myllar, Edinburgh, circa 1508, in 4to, black letter, of which a very imperfect copy is in the Adv. Lib. Editions also by Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson (?), before 1549. See Capt. Cox's Robin Hood, p. li.

(31) The meruellis of mandiueil. We know three editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503;

3. Pynson's, without date.

(32) (33) The tayl of the 3ong tamlene, and of the bald braband. Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of The Young Tamlane in Scott's Minstrelsy, A.D. 1802 (p. 474-480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in Herd's Scottish Songs, 1776, i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's Museum. He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggrel verses on "Tam o' the Linn" in R. Chambers's Popular Rhymes, ed. 1870, p. 33, and Captain Cox, p. cxxvii.

- (34) The ryng of the roy Robert. i. e. The reign of King Robert. In Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS., this poem is ascribed to Deine David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's Collection of Scotlish poems, pt 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." Leyden, p. 231. It is also reprinted "in two different publications of Mr Laing, Fugitive Scotish Poetry, and Early Metrical Tales. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order." Irving's Hist. of Scotish Poetry, p. 201, ed. 1861.
- (35) Syr egeir and syr gryme. Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his Early Metrical Tales, 1826. By far the best copy is in Bp Percy's Folio MS., and is printed in the Ballads and Romances of it, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness

which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steil* to the King." See Mr D. Laing's Introduction, and Mr Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray steel was the knight who overcame Sir Eger, and who cut off the right little finger of every knight he vanquisht. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.

(36) Beuis of southamtoun. The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a "Frensche boke," is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 a.d. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, &c. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, "a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books." Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum.

(37) The goldin targe. This is a poem of Dunbar's, first printed on six leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Works, 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and "the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendency of love over reason: the golden terge, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of

love." Irving's Hist. of Scotish Poetry, p. 235, ed. 1861.

(38) The paleis of honour. No copy of this is known so early as 1548-9, though a Scotch printer's copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary's reign: "The Palis of Honoure composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byshope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wyllyam Copland. God saue Quene Marye," 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris's edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas's original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author's dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See Irving, p. 269-277, for an outline of it.

(39) The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syns

slane be his auen doggis. Ovid's Metamorphoses, iii. 155, &c.

(40) The tayl of Piramus and tesbe. No doubt a short tale

from some lost translation of Ovid (Met. iv, 55-165). Golding's

translation was not publisht till 1567.

(41) The tail of the amours of leander and hero. The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian, De Amore Herois et Leandri, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's Georgics, 1589, 4to: "The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero, written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in Notes and Queries, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This "tayl" of the Complaynt before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, Her. xviii. 19.

(42) The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir love yo in ane

cou. More Ovid: Metamorphoses, bk i.

(43) The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice. This may be "A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason" printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, with cuts, "The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;" but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Caxton's edition is trans-

lated from Raoul Le Feyre's French original.

(44) Opheus, kyng of portingal. This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS., printed in Mr D. Laing's Select Remains, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1865. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was "of no consequence" with the story-tellers of those days.

(45) The tayl of the goldin appil. That of Eris, inscribed "to the fairest," thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the

original of the Complaynt "tayl."

(46) The tail of the thre veird systirs. "Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided." Ovid, Met. xv. 781, 808, &c.

(47) The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the

monster minotaurus. Ovid, Met. viii.

(48) The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede, COMPLAYNT.

be cause of his auereis. Another story from Ovid, book xi of the

Metamorphoses.

Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Sutton, dwellyng in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr Halliwell's Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, p. 18-19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.

#### THE SONGS.

(49) Pastance vitht gude companye. English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr Wm Chappell, in Archæologia, xli. 372, from a MS. that once belonged to Henry VIII., and now belongs to a Mrs Lamb. The song was also printed by Dr Rimbault in his Little Book, p. 37, and Mr Chappell in his Popular Music, from the Additional MS. 5665 in the British Museum, which was once Joseph Ritson's. It is there called "The Kyngis Balade." Here it is from Mrs Lamb's MS., pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in Archæologia, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS. every ll has a line across its top.

The kynge. H. viij.

(1)

Pastyme with good companye
I loue, & shall vntyll I dye;—
gruche who lust, but none denye,
so god be plesyd, thus leue wyll I.
for my pastance
hunt, syng, & daunce,
my hart is sett!
all goodly sport,
for my comfort,
who shall me let?

(2)
youthe must have sum daliance,
off good or yll, sum pastance;
Company me thynkes then best,
all thoughtes & fansys to delect;

ffor Idillnes
is cheff mastres
of vices all;
then who can say
but mirth and play
is best of all?

(3)

Company with honeste
is vertu, vices to flee;
Company is good & ill,
but euery man hath hys fre wyll;
the best ensew,
the worst eschew,

the worst eschew,
my mynde shalbe;
vertu to vse,
vice to refuce;
thus shall I vse me.

(50) The breir byndis me soir.

(51) Stil undir the lequis grene. See (96). In the Maitland MS., and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says, "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of "quite miraculous" was, though the "sang" is a good one. See in Mr Furnivall's Captain Cox, p. cl.

(52) Cou thou me the ruschis grene. Appendix to the Royal MSS., 58 (No. 26 in the "Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the

British Museum," 1842, p. 10). The Fayrfax MS., leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's Ancient Songs, vol. i, p. lxxv, with the music. See Captain Cox, clii.

(53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene/1 i.e. I blame your two

fair eyes.

(54) Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.
 (55) Lady, helρ zour presoneir¹.

(56) Kyng villzamis note.

(57) The land nounenou [= nonny no].

(58) The cheapel valk.

(59) Faytht is there none.

60) Skald abellis nou.

(61) The abirdenis nou.

(62) Brume brume on hil. English. See Capt. Cox, p. cxxviii, and Pop. Mus. p. 459.

(63) Allone i veip in grit distres. Godlissed in The Gule and

Godlie Ballates, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.

(64) Troles loles, lemmen dou. Cp. Capt. Cox's Troly lo, p. cxxix.

(65) Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,

and belt the in Sanct Francis cord?

In Constable's MS. Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley:

Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
And tuich it with your pin? trow low! (Leyden, p. 279.)

(66) The frog cam to the myl dur. Pinkerton, in his Select 'Ballads, ii. 33, says that "The froggie came to the mill door" was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. Leyden, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is "A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse" (Collier's Stat. Reg. ii. 132). Dr Rimbault has printed in his Little Book, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr C. K. Sharpe's Ballad Book, 1826,—and mentions another old "Frogge Song" in Halliwell's Nursery Rhymes, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's Pills to purge Melancholy, 1719, vol. i, p. 14.

(67) The sang of gilquhiskar.

(68) Rycht soirly musing in my mynde. Godlified in the Godlis Ballates, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.

(69) God sen the duc hed byddin in France, And delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame.

<sup>1</sup> Mr David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. Al. Scott's Poems, p. x.

"This song is not known; it must have been on 'the Chevalier de la Beauté' (de la Bastie properly), who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V., and who was murdered in 1515." Leyden, p. 276. See in Dunbar's Works, ed. Laing, i. 251, "Ane Orisoun quhen the Governour past into France."

(70) Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone. A verse of this

song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus:

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."

Louden. p.

Leyden, p. 279.

(71) Mastres fayr, ze vil forfayr. i. e. Go to ruin.

(72) O lusty maye, vitht flora quene. "This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, Scotish Songs, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS." Leyden, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott's Poems, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing. See also Capt. Cox, cliv.

(73) O myne hart, hay, this is my sang. Godlified in the

Godlie Ballates, p. 121.

(74) The battle of the hayrlau<sup>1</sup>. The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. A copy of a ballad on the battle dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr Robert Mylne, the Collector. "But the earliest edition that can now be traced was published by Ramsay: and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations. . The poem consists of 248 lines . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no embellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent" stanza:

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
Nane in his days was bettir sene,
Quhen thay war semblit, all and sum;
To praise him we sould not be dumm,
For valour, witt, and worthyness.
To end his days he ther did cum,
Quhois ransom is remeidyless."

Irving's Hist. of Scotish Poetry, p. 162-8.

The ballad, as we now have it, is printed in Allan Ramsay's Evergreen, 1724, and Laing's Early Metrical Tales, 1826 (Haz-

<sup>1</sup> See the Dance Tune, The Battel of Harlor, in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4, back, No. 8.

litt's Handbook, p. 32, col. 2), in "Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair," Glasgow, 1748, &c., &c. [Ramsay's copy is the original of all those in existence, and it is really impossible to tell whether that is a recooking of the genuine old ballad, or a modern one produced to supply its place. The philological evidence leads me to consider

it a pure forgery of Ramsay's.—J. A. H. M.]

(75) The hunttis of cheuet. This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of Chevy-Chase. A noble ballad it is, this Hunting of the Cheviot,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, Chevy-Chase. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15-18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the History of Gulielmus Neubrigensis, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his Reliques, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's Ballads, vii. 29, &c., &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a wellknown minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to that which they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, Chevy-Chase, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, ii. 7-16. That in "the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow, 8vo, 1747, is remarkable," says Bp Percy, "for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the

two nations."

See Maidment's Scotish Ballads, 1868, i. 81; Dr Rimbault's Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques, p. 1; Chappell's Popular

Music, &c., &c.

(76) Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr? No such place as Rumbelo or Rumbeloch is known, though the word rumbelow has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. "The unmeaning phrase Rumbylow," says David Irving, "appears to have been used in the burden of a song by the poets of both kingdoms." It is thus introduced in a passage of Skelton's Bowge of Court:

I wolde be mery what wynde that euer blowe: Heue and how, rombelow, row the bote, Norman, rowe.

So in the Scottish song on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, proserved by the English chronicler Fabyan:

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenyt the kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylow?

It occurs also in connection with *Heve how!* in "Peblis to the Play," stanza 5:

Hop, Calze, and Cardronow<sup>1</sup>
Gaderit out thik-fald,
With hey and how, rohumbelow,
The zoung folk were full bald.

(77) Greuit is my sorrow. Godlified in the Godlie Ballates, p. 132. The poem is English: The lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays. Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85. Printed also by Ritson, in his Ancient Songs, 1790, p. 93; and in the Reliquies Antique, 1841, i. 70. See Capt. Cox, clvi.

(78) Turne the, sucit ville, to me.

(79) My lufe is lyand seik;

Send hym ioy, send hym ioy !

I suppose these two lines belong to one song.

(80) Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil? ioy! The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,

Our guidman's away to the Mers
Wi' the mantle, jo! wi' the mantle, jo!
Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his ers,
Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo!—Leyden, p. 279.

(81) The persee & the mongumrye met. This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, i. 354, and Prof. Child's Ballads, vii. 19, &c.:—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other were fain;
They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
And aye the blood ran down between.

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas:

English reraion.

The Percy and the Douglas mette,
That ether of other was fayne;
They schapped together, whyll

that the swette,

With swords of fyne collayne.

Scotch rersion.

When Percy wi' the Douglas met, I wat he was fu' fain; They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,

And the blood ran down like rain.

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
And weel a wat they war na fain:
They swapped swords, and thay twa swat,
And ay the blood ran down between.

(lines 33-6.)

<sup>1</sup> Places near Peebles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the differing and short version in Herd's Scottish Songs, i. 154 (ed. 1869), and Child's Ballads, vii. 177-180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a little penknife, the verse above runs thus:

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 a.d., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. 293, leaf 52. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne, Sir Hugh Mongomery was hys name. (l. 161-2.)

See the treatise by Mr Robert White of Newcastle, on the Battle of Otterbourne, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857, and his advertised "History" of the battle.

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day. The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (Ballads, vii. 34, note), and that Mr Hales sanctions (Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom. ii. 2), that the "That day, that day, that gentill day" of the Complaynt, is a misquotation of "That day, that day, that dredfull day!" l. 99 of The Hunting of the Cheriot, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the Complaynt has already put The Huntis of Cheuet in its list of "sucit sangis," eight above "That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day," and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the Complaynt to have put "gentil" for "dredfull," and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauney (Ancient Scotish Melodies, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad,

The Persee & the Mongumrye met
That day, that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the Battle of Otterbourne ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since "That day" has four accents, as if it were a first line; though four accents often occur in second lines.

(83) My luf is laid apon ane knycht.

(84) Allace, that samyn sucit face! Godlified in the Godlie Ballates, p. 56.

(85) În ane myrthtful morou.

(86) My hart is leiuit [= left] on the land.

#### THE DANCE TUNES.

(87) Al cristyn mennis dance.

(88) The northt of scotland.
(89) Huntis vp. This is a lively English tune well fitted for

dancing, printed in Mr Chappell's Popular Music, i. 60, with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my Ballads from Manuscripts for the Ballad Society, vol. i, p. 310. This was "in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress 'fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,' by singing 'with a crowd or a fyddyll' a political song to that tune." (Pop. Mus. i. 60.)

Of William Gray—"one Gray, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was The hunte it [= is] vp, the hunte is vp"—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said Ballads, p. 311. Religious parodies of The hunt is up are printed at the end of Mr Halliwell's edition of the moral play of Wit and Science, from the Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the Godlie Ballates, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: "With huntis vp, with huntis vp." Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a hunt's-up. Chappell.

(90) The comount entray.

(91) Lang plat fut of gariau. i. e. Long flat foot of Garioch.

(92) Robene hude. Captain Cox, p. li. I Does the translator of the Roman de la Rose refer to this dance:

But haddest thou knowen hym beforne, Thow woldest on a booke have sworne, Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye, That he, that whylome was so gaye, And of the daunce Jolly Robyn, Was tho become a Jacobyn.

Romaunt of the Rose (! Chaucer's), 1. 7455.

Cotgrave has "Chanson de Robin, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . ."

(93) Thom of lyn. Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus:—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing Young Thomlin,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr John Wallye and Mr Toye in 1557-8, Stationers' Register A, leaf 22 (Collier's Stat. Reg. i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude:

Tom a lin and his wife, and his wives mother, They went over a bridge all three together; The bridge was broken, and they fell in: "The Deuil go with all!" quoth Tom a lin. See Capt. Cox, p. cxxvii.

(94) Freris al.

(95) Ennyrnes [= Inverness, Gael. Ionar nis].

(96) The loch of slene [= Slyne].

(97) The gosseps dance.

(98) Leuis grene. See No. (51), ante.

(99) Makky.

(100) The speyds. (101) The flail.

(102) The lammes vimile.

(103) Soutra. [Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. separates the South countrie from Lothian.—J. A. H. M.]

(104) Cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly.

(105) Schayke leg fut befor gossep.

(106) Rank at the rute. (107) Baglap and al.

(108) Ihonne ermistrangis dance. The earliest ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr Wm Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in Wit restored. 1658, and in Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems, 1682, called "A Northern Ballet," beginning:

> "There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland, Johnny Armstrong men did him call; He had neither lands nor rents coming in, Yet he kept eight score men in his hall."

Popular Music, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled "Johnny Armstrong's last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, To a pretty Northern Tune." A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]: also in Old Ballads, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans's Old Ballads, 1810, Pop. Mus. ii. 776.

But the Complaynt dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hanged by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his Evergreen, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the "Minstrelsy of the Scot-

<sup>1</sup> See, in Lyndesay's Satyre (ed. E. E. T. Soc.), p. 454, l. 2092-4: Heir is ane coird baith great and lang-Quhilk hangit Johne the Armistrang-Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Johne the" = "John ye" is a misprint for "Johnye," of the Bannatyne MS.

tish Border," in R. Chambers's Scottish Bullads, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the ballad is Ramsay's writing, no one knows. "Jock o' the Syde" was another Armstrong, and there's a third Johnie Armstrong in "Dick o' the Cow:" see the Ballads in Chambers, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers's Scottish Songs, ii. 528, is also an "Armstrong's Good-night" cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their

meddling fingers off their old singers' remains?

- (109) The alman haye. The Almayne or German haye. The Hay was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. "In Sir John Davie's Orchestra, 'He taught them rounds and winding heye to tread.' (In the margin he explains 'rounds and winding-heys' to be country dances.) In The Dancing Muster the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, 'the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.' This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men and one woman dance the hey-like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In Dargason, where many stand in one long line, the direction is the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaine' of a quadrille." Pop. Mus. ii. 629.
  - (110) The bace of voragon.
  - (111) *Dangeir.*
  - (112) The beye.
- (113) The dede dance. Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in Hawkins (see below) or "The Doleful Dance and Song of Death," of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr Chappell in his Popular Music, i. 85. The tune is also called "The Shaking of the Sheet," and "is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune." In the recently-discovered play of Misogonus, produced about 1560, The Shaking of the Sheets, The Vicar of St Fools, and the Catching of Quails, are mentioned as country dances. . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's Pappe with a Hatchet, 1589; in Gosson's Schoole of Abuse, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. "There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his History of

Music (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo. edit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from The Dancing Master of 1650-51, to the Vocal Enchantress of 1783." Pop. Mus. i. 84.

(114) The dance of kylrynne.

(115) The vod and the val.

(116) Schaik a trot.

## THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.1

"The enumeration of musical instruments used by the shepherds not only supplies an important chasm in the history of Scottish music, by informing us what instruments were popular at that period, but enables us, from the compass of these, to appreciate the comparative antiquity of our most popular airs." The musical instruments are eight in number; "the drone bag-pipe," "the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid," "the trump," "the corne pipe," "the pipe maid of ane gait horn," "the recorder, the fiddil, and the quhissil." The bag-pipe, in some form or other, has been known in almost every country; at this time it appears to have been as great a favourite among the Italian peasantry, especially the shepherds of Calabria, as among the peasants of Scotland. It seems also to have been the favourite instrument of the French peasantry. It is mentioned in a pastoral dirge on the death of Charles VII. of France, in which many traits of the shepherd-life of that country are exhibited. Although now usually associated with the Scottish Highlands, it is only in later times that the bagpipe has there become the favourite instrument, superseding the ancient Celtic harp. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1188, notices it as a Welsh instrument, but does not include it among the musical instruments of Scotland and Ireland. "Ireland," he says, "makes use of only two, the harp and the drum; Scotland hath three, the harp, the drum, and the chorus (probably the crwth); and Wales has the harp, the pipes, and the chorus." The same instruments are enumerated in one of the institutions of Howel Dda, about 942: "Every chief Bard to whom the prince shall grant an office, the prince shall provide him an instrument; a harp to one, a crwth to another, and pipes to a third; and when

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly abridged from Leyden,

they die, the instruments ought to revert to the prince." From the Welsh, the bagpipe seems to have passed to the English, and Scottish Lowlanders, and finally to have been appropriated by, and left to, the Highlanders. In corroboration of this we have the Gaelic names piob, piobair (pronounced peep, peeper), simply the old English pipe, piper, whence piobaireachd, pipership, in recent times imported back from the Gael as pibroch. In olden times a town's piper was a common adjunct of the Scottish burghs, but the Lowland bagpipe was a different instrument from that of the Highlanders, being inflated by bellows instead of the mouth, so that "the perfection of the piper's art was supposed to consist in being able to sing, dance, and play on the bagpipe at the same time."

The "Pipe made of a bladder and a reed," the second instrument mentioned, is the original and simple form of the bagpipe or corne muse. The simplicity of its structure renders it the favourite of shepherd boys, as its formation is scarcely more difficult than the whistle. The Trump, or Jews harp, is now chiefly confined to boys, but in the absence of other instruments has been used for dancing to, and about the close of the 16th century was held to be the favourite musical instrument of witches in Scotland. The Corne pipe is probably Virgil's "tenuis avena," Chaucer's "pipe maid of grene corne," still formed by shepherd boys under the name of the drone, and capable of producing tones resembling those of the bagpipe. The "pipe maid of ane gait horne" is the "stock and horn," or "buckhorn," of the Scottish peasantry, formed by inserting a reed or pipe into a horn, which gives a full and mellow expression to the sound. The reed or whistle was often formed of the excavated elder branch, to which there is an allusion in the ancient poem of Cockelbie's Sow, where the "pype maid of a borit bourtre" is mentioned as the appropriate musical instrument of the "nolt hirdis."

The Recordar was a small species of flute, or rather flageolet, and has always been a favourite with the Scottish shepherds; it is mentioned as their appropriate instrument in Cockelbie's Sow. The flddill, a musical instrument of great antiquity, has, in the Scottish Lowlands, supplanted the bagpipe. From the number of

MS. cantus of the last two centuries dispersed through the country, it seems to have been long a very favourite instrument. But the origin of the Fiddle ascends to a very high antiquity. It is frequently mentioned in the ancient Metrical Romances; and in some of these the highest degree of female beauty is expressed by the simile, "sweet as the cream of milk, or the music of a fiddle."

THE DANCES consisted of dancing "in ane ring," "licht lopene (leaping), galmonding (gambolling), stendling (striding) bakuart & forduart, dansand base dansis, pauuans, galzardis, turdions, braulis, and branglis, buffons, vith mony vthir licht dancis." "The Ring dance," says Leyden, "was formerly a favourite in the south of Scotland, though now gone into desuetude. It was the common dance at the Kirn, or feast of cutting down the grain, and was always danced with peculiar glee by the reapers of that farm where the harvest was first finished in any district. On such occasions, they danced on an eminence, in the view of the reapers in their vicinity, to the music of the Lowland bagpipe, commencing the dance with three loud shouts of triumph, and thrice tossing up their The intervals of labour during harvest were often hooks in the air. occupied by dancing the Ring, to the music of the piper who formerly attended the reapers. The custom of the piper playing behind the reapers, which has now fallen into desuetude, is alluded to in the Elegy on the piper of Kilbarchan:

'Or quha will cause our shearers shear? Wha will bend up the brags of weir?'

This dance is still retained among the Highlanders, who frequently dance the Ring in the open fields when they visit the south of Scotland, as reapers during the autumnal months. Similar seems to be the Rinceadhfada, Rinkey, or field dance of the Irish."

Of the "galmonding," Lyndesay (Complaynt, l. 181) describes the courtiers of James V.,

"Castand galmoundis, with bendis and beckis, For wantones, sum braik there neckis."

Some of the dances are also mentioned in a work contemporary with the *Complaynt*, "The Boke named the Gouernour, deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knyght, London, 1546" (fol. 71), where, after

describing the dances of antiquity, the Eumelia, Cordax, Enoplie, and Hormus, he says, "In stede of these we have now Base daunses, bargenettes, pauyons, turgions and roundes." A little later Webbe, in his "Discourse of English Poetry," 1586, says, "neither is their anie tune or stroke which maye be sung or plaide on instruments which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof; some to Rogero, some to Frenchmore, to downe right Squire, to Galliardes, to Pauines, to Iygges, to Brawles, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then myselfe." (Arber's Reprint, 1870, p. 61.)

At the conclusion of "The Introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barcley" (London, 1521, 4to), a spare leaf is occupied by a treatise "Here followeth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vee of fraunce & other places, translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande." which Mr Furnivall has printed at p. clx of his Captain Cox. We are told that "for to daunce ony bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces, that is to wite syngle, double: repryse & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reverence towards the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a repryse / & a braule." Also "ye ought to wyte that in some places of fraunce they call the repryses / desmarches and the braule they call / conge in englysshe / leue." Then follows a description of "Bace daunces," consisting of "Filles, a marier / with .iiii. measures; le petit rouen / with .iiii. measures; Amours, with two measures; la gorriere / thre measures; la allemande. thre measures; la brette / foure measures; la royne / foure measures." These, the translator says, he has put at the end of his book "that every lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somwhat theyr sprytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vice."

"The Pavan," says Leyden, "was a solemn majestic dance, of Spanish origin, originally performed by nobles dressed with a cap and sword, lawyers in their robes, and ladies in gowns with long trains; the motion of which in the dance was supposed to resemble the tail of a peacock, from which the dance is supposed to have derived its name. From the Pavan, a lighter air denominated the

Galliard, was formed; so that every Pavan had its corresponding Pavans and Galliards frequently occur in the musical compositions even of the 17th century, and among some verses annexed to Hume of Logie's MS. Poems, I find 'Certaine wise sentences of Salomon, to the tune of Wigmore's Galliard.'" But Mr Chappell says, "Pavana, according to Italian writers, was derived from Paduana—and not from Pavo—a peacock." Pop. Mus. ii. 772. "Morley says, 'The pavan for grave dancing; galliards, which usually follow pavans, are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing. . .' Baker, in his Principles of Musick, 1636, says, 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are pavans, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed galliards for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion; and therefore the triple is oft called gulliard time, and the duple, pavan time."—Pop. Mus. i. 157. "The Galliard was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom. ii. 579, l. 529."—F. J. Furnivall. "Cotgrave has 'Galop gaillard. The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or one pace and a leap;' and 'Baladinerie: f. High, or lively dancing, as of Galliards, Corantoes, or Jigges.' Tourdion he explains as 'the daunce tearmed a Round. Dancer les Buffons: to daunce a morris.' The latter name was also known in Scotland, for in Christes Kirk of the Grene,

Auld Lychtfute thair he did forleit,
And counterfutet Franss
He veed him self as man discreit
And vp the *Moreiss* danss
He tulk
At Christes Kirk of the Grene,"

Some of the musical terms employed in the Monologue are illustrated by the following passage from Higden (*Polychronicon*, 1495, f. 101), quoted by Dr Leyden: "Here wyse men I tell, that Pictagoras passed som tyme by a smythes hous, and herde a swete sowne, and accordynge in the smytynge of foure hamers vpon an anuelt, & therefore he lette weye the hamers, & found that one of the hamers weyed twyes so moche as another. Another weyed

other halfe so moche as another; and another weved so moche as another and the thyrde dele of another. As though the fyrste hamer were of syx pounde, the seconde of twelue, the thyrde of eyght, the fourth of ix.—When these accordes were founden, Pictagoras gaue them names, & so that he called in nombre, double, he called in sownes Dyapason, and that he called in nombre other halfe, he called in sowne DYAPENTE, & that that in nombre is called alle and the thyrde dele, hete in sownes DYATESSERON, and that that in nombres is called alle & the eyghteth dele, hete in tewns Double As in melodye of one strenge, yf the strenge be streyned enlonge vpon the holownesse of a tree, and departe euen atwo by a brydge sette there vnder in eyther part of the strenge, the sowne shall be Dyapason, if the strenge be streyned and touched. And yf the strenge be departed even in thre, and the brydge sette vnder, soo that it departe bytwene the twey deles and the thyrde, then the lenger dele of the strenges yf it be touched, shal gyue a sowne called Dyatesseron. And yf it be departed in nyne, and the brydge sette vnder bytwene the laste parte and the other dele, and the lenger dele of the strenge, yf it be touched, shall gyue a sowne that hete Tonus."

Before altogether leaving rural scenes, the author exhibits his varied knowledge in another direction, by giving us the various names applied to sheep at different ages, and a herbalist's account of the various plants which he found in the fields. One may suspect, however, that his botany was rather book-knowledge than field work, as he includes in his list several plants not native to Scotland or even Britain, as, for instance, Anise seed, Cypress, coriander, and fennel and hyssop. In his birds, at the beginning of the Monolog, he had similarly included the nightingale and the crane.

# III. THE LANGUAGE.

For a complete account of the chronological and topographical divisions of the Lowland Scotch, I must refer the reader to the Historical Introduction to my "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland." I have there shown that the language of Lowland Scot-

land was originally identical with that of England north of the The political and purely artificial division which was afterwards made between the two countries, unsanctioned by any facts of language or race, had no existence while the territory from the Humber to the Forth constituted the North Anglian kingdom or eorldom of Northumbria. The centre of this state, and probably of the earliest Angle settlement, was at Bamborough, a few miles from the Tweed mouth, round which the common language was spoken north of the Tweed and Cheviots as well as south. This unity of language continued down to the Scottish War of Independence at the beginning of the 14th century, and even after that war had made a complete severance between the two countries, down to the second half of the fifteenth century. In England, previous to this period, three great English dialects, the Northern, Midland, and Southern, had stood on an equal footing as literary languages, none of which could claim preëminence over the others as English par But after the Wars of the Roses, the invention of printing, and more compact welding of England into a national unity, the Midland dialect, the tongue of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, of the court and culture of the country, assumed a commanding position as the language of books, and the Northern and Southern English sank in consequence into the position of local patois, heard at the fireside, the plough, the loom, but no longer used as the vehicles of general literature. But while this was the fate of the Northern dialect in the English portion of its domain, on Scottish ground it was destined to prolong its literary career for two centuries more, and indeed to receive an independent culture almost justifying us in regarding it, from the literary side, as a distinct language. At the same time, the shifting of its centre of gravity from Lindisfarne and Durham to the banks of the Forth, where the Angle blood was mixed with that of the Celts of the original Scotia, north of that river estuary-and where the speech would in consequence be affected by Celtic pronunciation—as well as the influences exercised by a distinct ecclesiastical and legal system, a foreign alliance, and a national life altogether severed from that of England, began to produce modifications in the original North Anglian type of the lan-

COMPLAYNT.

guage, which finally became so important as to entitle us to consider the period between 1450 and 1500 as the commencement of a distinct era in the language and literature of Scotland—an era in which, for the first time, it became truly national or Scottish. I have thus divided the language and literature of Scotland into three periods, an EARLY, a MIDDLE, and a MODERN—the latter dating from the union of the kingdoms, when Scotch, following in its turn the fate of the Northern English in England, ceased to be used in books, or for ordinary purposes in writing, though preserved as the speech of the people and of popular poetry. Viewed in its relation to the Middle Scotch of the 16th century, and the Modern Scotch of Burns or Scott, the language of the early period may be called Early Scotch, although, in relation to its contemporary dialects, it was neither more nor less than Northern English. The Grecian scholar may compare this with a similar fact in the history of the Attic dialect: the language of Solon in its relations to the Middle Attic of Sophocles and the New Attic of Demosthenes was Old Attic; in its relation to contemporary dialects it was simply Ionic, the same as the language of Herodotus.

The differences between the Middle Scotch of the 16th century and the Early Scotch or Northern English—call it which you like—of the 14th century, was not one of inflections or grammatical forms. Before the date of the very earliest connected specimens of the Northern dialect in the 12th and 13th centuries, that dialect had stripped itself of the trammels of inflection almost as completely as Modern English. The plurals of nouns, the tenses and persons of the verb, the cases of the pronouns, and uninflected state of the adjectives in Cursor Mundi, Barbour, and the oldest Scottish Fragments, are identical with those still in use in Scotland and the North of England, probably the only inflection lost since the 13th century being the -s of the plural imperative of verbs, still in use in the 16th century. The Southern English dialect, on the other hand, retained

In the West Saxon, the plural of the imperative was, without the pronoun, Cumas, with it Cume 3c. In the Old North Anglian Cumes, and Cume 3c. In Early Scotch Cums, and Cum 3c. In the Middle Scotch Cums was still used, but when more than one verb came in a sentence, only the first usually took the -s or -cs.

a great part of the inflection system of the Anglo-Saxon for some centuries later; hence there is a vast difference between the language of Cursor Mundi and Barbour, and that of the Ancren Riwle and Avenbite of Inwyt. In the absence of inflection changes, the transition from the Early to the Middle period in Scotch is marked by a great change in the system of spelling, by the appearance of new words or expressions, and the incorporation of a vast number of French words and Latin words in a French form, as a result of the intimate relations with France. In the very earliest remains, consisting of isolated words and phrases from the vernacular in the old Latin laws, &c., the Anglo-Saxon vowels are retained unchanged, as in blode, fode, fote, thurch, oper, boke, ut, tun, bur, forutin, abute; by 1400, these had come to be spelt blude, fude, fute, throuch, uthir, buke, out, toun, bour, forowtin, aboute, but original vowels, Anglo-Saxon or French, were still kept simple and distinct from diphthongs, as in quha, ald, cald, barne, tham, gane, wele, kepe, deme, rose, thole, flour, mure, buke, wyf. In the Middle period these simple long vowels were written as diphthongs, quhay, auld, cauld, bairn, thaim, gayne, weill, keyp, deim, rois, roys, thoill, flouir, muir, buik, wyif. The indefinite article was in the Early period an or ane before a vowel, a before a consonant, as ane ald man, an ere, a kyng; in the Middle Scotch it was ane always, ane auld man, ane eyre, ane kyng. The relative in the Early period is pat, more commonly at, ha landis at war gottyn; in the Middle Scotch quhilk, plural quhilkis, thay landis quhilkis war gottin. Late in the period, even quha was used in imitation of the English, ze quha hes ane judgis cure. The past participle of weak verbs in the Oldest Scotch as in English was in -d, assemlyd, grypyd, trastyd (Wyntoun); in Middle Scotch always in -it, assemblit, gryppit, traistit. The demonstrative tha = those, and the pronoun thai, thay = they, are always kept distinct by the Early writers; by the Middle writers constantly confounded. The participle etand, and gerund etyng, are always distinct with the Early writers, often confused by those of the Middle Period. In the plural of nouns the syllable -is, -ys, formed a distinct syllable after monosyllables in Early Scotch; in the Middle, the vowel was not pronounced, and gradually dropped

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in writing. For other points of difference and specimens of different date the reader is referred to the work already mentioned.

The Complaynt of Scotlande belongs to the Middle Scotch period, which had already produced the works of Bellenden, Gawain Douglass, and Lyndesay. The orthographical peculiarities of this period of the language have just been pointed out, and it is to be noted that on account of these the Middle Scotch is more difficult to read for a modern Englishman—even for a modern Scotchman—than the language of two centuries earlier. In the case of the Complaynt the difficulty is not lessened by the use of v, u, for u, v and w, without distinction, and the general absence of capitals. I hope, however, all readers will not be as puzzled with it as a literary friend—one who has done some Early English work too—who, after curiously scanning one of the proof-sheets for a minute, asked, "What language is this? Old Flemish—or some Low German dialect dashed with French?"

Of grammatical forms of interest in the text, we may notice the plurals, brether, childer, wemen, eene, ky, hors, nolt, still in use in the North; the French fashion of using nouns in -s as singular and plural alike, as in vers, burges, burges, verses, burgesses; the occasional occurrence of the genitive without inflection, as in "the inglismen handis," "3 our nobil fudir broder," "his systir sone." The original genitives of these words had been lost, and the modern substitute not yet fully recognized.

The numeral one, and article an, a, as usual in Middle Scotch, are expressed by the single form ane. The demonstratives are this, that, with their plurals thir, tha (confused with the pronoun thai, thay), and 3one of both numbers. In the adjectives we find the distinction between mair, the comparative of mykil, and ma, comparative of monie, still observed in the folk-speech of the South of Scotland: "ther is maye of the sect of sardanapalus among vs nor ther is of scipions;" "ane pure vedou that hed na mair moneye."

As in the modern dialect also, *vthir* and *vthirs* are used reflectively for the English *each other*; "there tua natours and complexions ar contrar til *vthirs*;" "marcus emilius lepedus and fuluius flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar *vthirs*."

The personal pronouns are as still used in Scotland. In the plural of the 2nd person 3e is of course always nominative, 3000 objective; the 3rd person plural has thai, thay (often confused with demonstrative tha), and thaym, tham. In the singular scho, as common in Scotch, represents she. Its is of course not in use, being often supplied simply by the, "it has the levuis appin as lang as the soune is in oure hemispere, and it closis the levuis quhen the soune pass vndir our orizon" (p. 57. 14).

The Relative at, so common in the Early writers, nowhere appears; the usual Relative pronoun being quhilk, quhilkis (compare French lequel, lesquels). The use of quha as a relative—unknown to the spoken dialects of Scotland, the earliest instance of which that I have found in Scottish literature is in the Acts of the Scots Parliament for 1540—is also familiar to the author of the Complaynt; thus, p. 5, "Siclyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, Ihone of Loran, quha is 30ur fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens hes bene mediatour betuix divers forane princis, quha hes nocht alanerly vset him lyik ane vailgeant captan," &c.

In the compound pronouns we find self treated as a substantive in the 3rd person as well as the 1st and 2nd, "al the vicis that his self committis." There is also, as still in Scotland, a distinction between our self and ourselves, the former being collective, the latter distributive: "the quhilk misknaulege of themself and of god sal be occasione of there auen ruuyne;" "grete familiarite betuix inglismen and scottismen amang theme selfis."

The present tense of the verb is thus conjugated with the pronoun subjects:

I bryng. Thow bryngis. He bryngis. We bryng.

3e bryng.

Thai bryng.

but when unaccompanied by the pronoun, bryngis is used in all persons, a peculiarity still marked in the spoken dialect; thus,

"I that hes bene in maist fortunat prosperite," "my thrie sonnis that standis heir in my presens."

"It aperis that the lau of nature is mair perfytly accompleist in brutal beystes, nor it is in 30u that professis to be natural men; for

30ur werkis testifeis that 3e ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystes that hes na vndirstanding of raison."

"3e, vndir the collour of frendeschip, purchessis my final exterminatione."

"Sum of 30u remanis in 30ur auen housis."

"Quhen 3e haue fulfillit the inglismennis desyre, & hes helpit to distroye your natyue cuntre."

"Al thir thingis befor rehersit is said to gar 301 consider that mankind is subject to the planetis and to ther influens; for quhou be it that that ar," &c.

"We that ar commont pepil vsis na vthir trason, bot murmuris and bannis our prince secretlye."

The verb to be is thus conjugated:

I am. We ar.
Thow art. 3e ar.
He is. Thay ar.

but apart from the pronoun, is is used in all persons.

The past tense does not vary for the persons: I sau, thou sau, &c., but vas has var or vas in the plural. The Preteritive verbs are also invariable, I vait, thou vait, he vait, we vait, I sal, thow sal, &c.

With regard to the special dialect of the Complaynt, a very careful examination has led me to the conviction that the author was a Southern Scot, and, probably, even a native of the Border Counties. I have already said that the shifting of the linguistic centre northward from the Tweed and Tyne to the Forth, caused the Middle Scotch to represent specially the spoken dialect of Lothian and From this it has come that the dialect of the Southern Fife. Counties of Scotland at the present day approaches more closely to the earliest Scottish remains, which were founded on this dialect, than to ordinary written Scotch of the 16th century, founded on a more northern type. Now in many minute points of language in which the Complaynt differs from other Scottish productions of the period, it agrees with the peculiarities of the Southern counties. Thus, in the dialect of Fife at the present day, into or intil is regularly used for in: he's sitten' intil the hoose; this usage is constantly employed by Lyndesay, and other of his contemporaries, thus:

the purifyit Virgin trew,
In to the quhome the prophicie was compleit.

Into that Park I sawe appeir Ane ageit man quhilk drew me nere.

Moses gaif the Law in mont Senay Nocht in to Greik nor Latyne I heir say,

Quhairfoir I wald al bukis necessare -For our faith wer in tyll our toung vulgare.

Thocht we in till our vulgare toung did know Off Christ Jesu the lyfe and Testament.

Arestotill thow did precell In to Phylosophie naturell; Virgill, in tyll his Poetrye, And Cicero in tyll Oratrye.

But this idiom is never found in the *Complaynt*; on the contrary, in is used for into, which is hardly recognized; "he resauis in his fauoir ane desolat prince;" "thir tua princis entrit in the achademya;" "he garris them fal in the depe fosse of scruitude, ande fra magnificens in ruuyne;" "when the sune cummis in the fyrst degre of aries;" "I passit in ane grene feild."

The sparing use of til for to—so common in Fife and Lothian at the present day, and equally so in Lyndesay, &c.—may be noticed; the author of the Complaynt uses it for to before a vowel to avoid hiatus, as is the usage in the South still: "til al them;" "to the grene hoilsum feildis." The dialects of Central Scotland have lost the distinction between the gerund and participle, pronouncing both as -en, syngen'; but in the Southern counties as well as in Northumberland, they are still rigidly separated, as -an' (and) and -ene (-ing). Already in Lyndesay we find them constantly confused, in the Complaynt never. Moreover, the gerund is often spelt -ene, -een, as still pronounced in the South: "the ropeen of the rauens;" "the jargolyne of the suallou;" "the lang contemplene of the hauynis;" "lycht lowpene," &c. Compare tillene for tilling (p. 39), and, as showing that -ing and -een were convertible, lateen, lating, garding, gardene.

There are many points of a similar kind, which I might adduce; but instead of doing so, I make the general statement, that while I cannot read ten lines of Lyndesay without having it forced upon me, as a native of Roxburghshire, that his form of Country is the statement of the

mine, I have everywhere found the language of the *Complaynt* familiar as the tones of childhood, and ever and anon have been surprised at the sanction which it gives to forms or idioms which I had thought to be modern "vulgarisms" of the local patois, but which are thus shown to have a pedigree of three and a half centuries to plead.

But the most salient characteristic of the language of the Complaynt is the French element in it. The intimate connection between Scotland and France in the 15th and 16th centuries, the presence of Frenchmen in Scotland, and still more the education and temporary residence of all Scotchmen of standing in France, exerted a powerful influence upon the language and literature of Scotland, of which it is difficult to say how great the result would have been, had the intimacy not been disturbed by the Reformation, and finally terminated by the acquisition of the English crown by James VI. The literary Scotch of the 16th century teems with French words, not derived through the Norman channel, like the French words in English,—but taken direct from the French of the day. As might be expected from the French sympathies of its author, the Complaynt exhibits this French element to an enormous extent, not merely to supply the want of native terms, but in preference to words of native origin, as when contrar is preferred to against, esperance to hope, reus to streets, bestial to cattle, verite to

Among the more remarkable French words, and Latin words in a French form, occurring in the book are the following:—

allya, ally, alliance.
antecestres, ancestors.
arryua, arrive.
avanse, advance.
barbir, barbarous.
bersis, Fr. berce.
bestial, cattle.
boreau, executioner.
borrel, rude.
boule, ball.
brangland, shaking, branlant.

bullir, boil, gurgle.
butin, booty.
caduc, fleeting.
calkil, calculate.
carions, corpses, caroignes.
cauteil, craft, caution.
chasbollis, onions, ciboules.
chengeis, chains.
chestee, chastise.
citinaris, citizens, citoiens.
conqueise, conquer.

i final a often used for French final e.

conteneu, tenor. contrair, against. corbeis, ravens. cordinair, shoemaker. cronic, chronicle. curtician, courtier. difficil, difficult, disjune, breakfast. dyte, to word, dit. ensens, incense. escarmuschis, skirmishes. eschet, forfeiture. euoir, ivory, ivoire. expreme, express. facil, easy. fard, paint, farder. fasson, fashions. felloun, fierce. fleurise, blossom. freuole, frivolous. fumeterre, fumitory. fyne, end. galmound, gambol. galzard, galliard. garnison, garrison. gloire, glory. gre, degree. impesche, hinder. importabil, unbearable. lasche, base, lûche. loue, praise. maculat, spotted. maltalent, ill-will. manneis, threat. marbyr, marble. merle, blackbird. mel, mix. mistir, need, mestier. mue, bushel, muid. murdresar, murderer. neurise, nurse. nouvelles, news. obfusquis, darkens. olymp, olympus. oultraige, outrage. pastance, pastime.

pasuolan, Fr. passevolant. paveis, Fr. pavoise. pauuan, Fr. parane. perdurabil, lasting. pissance, power. plasmatour, creator. popil, poplar. potent, stake, gibbet, prochane, neighbour. prodig, prodigal. pulce, push, poulser. puldir, powder, pouldre. rammasche, collected, rammussé. rammel, branching, ramel. rasche, pull, arracher. repreme, repress. renze, rein. reprocha, reproach. reu, street. roy, king. rondellis, Fr. rondelles. rotche, rock, roche. salut, safety. salutifere, healthful. seremons, ceremonies. scisma, schism. siege, seat, see. siecle, age, century. sklaue, slave, ésclave. solist, solicitous. spacier, to walk, Ital. spaziare. succur, sugar, sucre. suppedit, assist. suppreme, suppress, temerair, rash. turdion, a dance, tordion. turques, pincers. vaig, to ramble, vaguer. veschel, vessel. vertu, virtue. vilite, vileness. ulve, oil, huyle, vollage, fickle, volage. unctit, anointed, oincié. visye, visit. zelaturs, zealots.

This list, extensive as it is, conveys but a poor idea of the influence of the French as shown even in the spelling of common words, as verite, felicite, remeid, abusion, souveraine, propriete, astrologien, damyselle, Inde, Perse, Crisp Salust, Absolon, Hieremye, Deutronome, Levitic, Capes (Capua), Cartagiens, Seneque, Italie, Mathou, Marc, Luc. To the French influence we may also refer the plural form taken by adjectives of Romance origin, as in batellis socialis, batellis intestynis, invectyues philipiques, demonstrations mathematiques, lynis parallelis; and probably the plurals the quhilkis, the saidis, the foirsaidis, the pures = les pauvres, of which the commons, the rustics are modern instances.

## IV. THE AUTHOR AND PLACE OF PRINTING.

To take the latter of these first; it has generally been assumed that the Complaynt was printed in Scotland. Dr Mackenzie, the earliest writer who mentions the work, indeed expressly says, "Scotland's Complaint against her Three Sons, the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons, was imprinted at St Andrew's, in 8vo. 1548." Dr Leyden adopts without question the same view, which is followed by the Scottish bibliographers generally. My doubts as to its correctness were first aroused in the process of preparing this edition for the printer. The misprints in the original, as a glance at the bottom of the following pages will show, are very numerous, and I could not help remarking that, in kind as well as number, they bore a strong resemblance to those in Jascuy's Paris edition of Lyndesay's Monarché, 1558, part of which I had recently collated, on taking up the editing of the Early English Text Society's Lyndesay. These consist mainly in the confounding of t and c, of n and u, f and f, in, ni, iu, ni, and m, &c., errors very natural for a compositor who did not know the language setting from MS., but, as it appeared to me, impossible for a native printer to make, and a native reader to At least they were such as native printers did not make in other works of the day, as may be seen from the typographical productions of Chepman and Millar, John Skot, Henrie Charteris, and

Robert Bassandyne, all of which are very accurately printed; one really could not imagine any of these repeatedly printing che, chem, chat, bernik, hanyn, notht, mitht, faych, slandris, vuinersal, enyl, uotht, hane, enryie, laudnart, nouch, nenreisuig, anareis, sterius, soucht, zenych, muus and mnue, sneit, prysomt, scettis, saythtful, for the, them, that, Beruic, hauyn, nocht, micht, fayth, Flandris, vniuersal, enyl, nocht, haue, euryie, landuart, mouth, neurising, auareis, sternis, foucht, zenyth, mune, sueit, prysonit, Scottis, faythful, with hundreds of similar blunders, which have their parallels in Jascuy's Lyndesay. Then came the facts that the printer used no w or j, while w at least is common in Old Scotch books, being often used for initial v, whereas here, v and u have each to do duty in three capacities, as in vyuis, vniuers, vou, muue, = wyvis, univers, vow, muve; and that the entire book contains no vestage of the black letter in which all the Old Scotch books that I had seen were printed.

Accordingly, when in Scotland in 1870, I set myself, under the guidance of Mr David Laing, and Mr Halkett of the Advocate's Library, to examine all the specimens of Early Scottish typography preserved, and found that until a period long after the date of the Complaynt, there was no book printed in Scotland in Roman type; while among the few words in Roman which occur in the title pages. &c., of Early Scottish books, there is no vestige of any type approaching that of the Complaynt. On the other hand, the typography bore a striking likeness to that in many French works of the 16th century which I had examined, and I had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion, which the contents of the work entirely favoured, that it was printed in France. I have since been pleased to find that the bibliographer Herbert had come to the same conclusion, and in a copy of his edition of Ames's Typ. Antiq. furnished with copious MS. notes for the purposes of a new edition, he supports his opinion by saying that Mr Pinkerton possessed a French book of about the same date-provokingly vague, it must be confessedprinted with the same type. Finally, I find that the experts in typography at the British Museum have just come to the same con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I may mention as a work in question an edition of Iaques Amyot's Translation of Plutarch's Lives, Paris, 1600, which I have at the moment beside me.

clusion; and that in the new Index, the book has been entered during the last month as "The Complaynt of Scotlande (vyth ane Exortatione to the thre estaits to be vigilante in the deffens of their public veil). Attributed to Wedderburn, Sir J. Inglis, or Sir D. Lindsay, Paris ? 1549 ? 16°."

The first mention we have of the work, as already hinted, occurs in Dr George Mackenzie's Lives of Scottish Writers (Edinburgh, 1708, 3 vols. folio). In the third volume we find what is termed a life of Sir James Inglis, Knight, who is stated to have been born in Fife, of an ancient family; to have studied at St Andrew's, finished his education at Paris, and afterwards returning to Scotland, to have ingratiated himself by his skill in poetry with James V. At the death of that prince he became an abettor of the French faction; but after the disastrous battle of Pinkie, in which he commanded a troop of cavalry with such distinction as to obtain the honour of knighthood from the Governor, he retired to Fife "where amid the innocent amusements of a country life, he composed several treatises both in prose and verse, of which we have still extant one called Scotland's Complaint, printed at St Andrew's in 1548; by which it appears he was well seen in the Grecian and Roman histories, and was a great mathematician and philosopher; a most faithful and loval subject, and a great lover of his country." Mackenzie then gives a very full and careful analysis of the Complaynt as we have it, and in conclusion relates that Inglis died at Culross in 1554. Besides the Complaynt he attributes to him "Poems, consisting of songs, ballads, plays, and farces, in MS." Now, not to speak of other palpable errors, we find that Mackenzie here confounds two different persons of the name of Sir James Inglis, or, at least, one person of that name, with somebody else who may probably have been the other Sir James Inglis. Lyndesay, in the prologue to the Complaynt of the Papyngo (1530), mentioning the living poets of his day, says:

> And in the Court bin present in thir dayis That ballattis breuis lustely, and layis; Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present; Quha can say mair than Schir Iames Inglis sayis, In ballatis, farses, and in plesand playis? Bot Culros hes his pen maid impotent.

The Maitland MS. also attributes to "Schir James Inglis" a poem entitled "A General Satire," which the Bannatyne MS, has with the name of "Dunbar" affixed. This Sir James Inglis, 1 a "Pope's Knight," was a churchman of considerable distinction at court in the reign of James V. He is shown from the Treasurer's Accounts to have been attached to the Royal household in 1511, was subsequently "Chapellane to the Prince," James V., while Sir David Lyndesay was Gentleman Usher, Secretary to Queen Margaret (1515), Chancellor of the Kingis chapell at Stirling (1527). The earliest and almost the latest entries we have in regard to him concern expenses for materials "to be hym and his collegis play-coitis, agane zule," for the "farssis and the plesand playis" commemorated above by Lyndesay. Before 1530 he was advanced to the Abbacy of Culross in Fife. These circumstances seemed all to favour the statement of Mackenzie; a priest who enjoyed wellearned preferment, and had the best reasons to desire the stability of the spiritual and temporal powers in Scotland, above all, one who could write ballads, farces, and plays, and lash the vices of the age in a "General Satire," seemed the very man who united the talents displayed in the Complaynt of Scotland. But unfortunately, for the presumption, eighteen years before the book was written, Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, was murdered on March 1, 1531, by the Baron of Talliallane and his followers, who a month after were convicted of "art and part of the cruell slauchtir," and beheaded at Edinburgh, as related in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 9151.

Thus the Inglis theory seemed to be irretrievably ruined, when the Scottish Scholar, to whom Scotland owes more than to any other for the exact history of her early literature, Mr David Laing, discovered that contemporary with the courtier, preacher, playwright, and satirist, there was another Schir Iames Inglis also n priest's orders, who from about 1508 to 1550 was chaplain of the Abbey of Cambuskynneth, in connection with which his name occurs repeatedly in the Treasurer's books—in the not very literary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See a full account of all that is known of him in a long note to the "General Satire," Dunbar's Poems, edited by David Laing, Edin., vol. ii. p. 398, to which I am mainly indebted for the particulars here quoted.

capacity certainly of singing masses "for the saullis of vmquhile our souerane Lord, (quham God assolze!) King James the Third, and Quene Margarete his spouss." Now as this Inglis lived over 1550, it is just possible that Mackenzie confounded (naturally enough-till Mr Laing's time, others had done the same) the two men, and that those portions of the "Life" which do not refer to the Abbot of Culross, viz. his share in Pinkie, survival to 1554, and authorship of the Complaynt, may refer to the chaplain of Cambuskyn-The author of the Complaynt on his own showing, see Chap. XIX., was likely to be in the fore front in battle with the English; and it is not even a fatal objection to this that Inglis had been a chaplain for 40 years at least, and must, therefore, have been 60 years old in 1547. Nor is it an insurmountable objection to say that he was "an old obscure chaplain, whose name is in no way connected with history or literature." Both directly and incidentally the author of the Complaynt calls it his "first werk," and the entire Dedication and "Prolog to the Redar" consistently support this statement, which there really was no reason to feign if it was not true.

Our next information on the authorship of the Complaynt is the Harleian Catalogue, already quoted, p. xvii., where the book is without note or comment set down as "Vedderburn's," Now there is no known external authority for the title and author's name there given; yet the title is unquestionably genuine and authentic in form, spelling, and entire character, while it is such as nobody would have invented—at least, it is what I, if after an intimate study of the book I had been required to write a title for it, should certainly never have hit upon, while, the moment I saw it, I felt it must be the genuine one; it follows, therefore, that the authors of the Catalogue must have had internal authority for what they wrote, either in a printed title existing in one of the copies, or a written transcript of one. True, neither of the copies traceable to Harley's Library has now a title-page; but when Leyden wrote in 1801, the Roxburgh Copy, he was "informed," bore still a fragment of one, with the words The Comp alone remaining. Supposing this information to be true, and comparing it with what I have said as to all

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that remains of the title-page of the Grenville copy now (ante, p. xix.), it is certainly possible that if so much has perished since 1801, more may have perished between that date and 1743, and that at the earlier date enough was in existence to supply the title given in the Harleian Catalogue. But while it is, I think, certain that the compilers of that Catalogue had a genuine title-page before them, it is not certain that the title-page bore the author's name: the spelling Vedderburn suggests, indeed, the orthography of the book, and implies an early authority at least; but internal evidence is, so far as it goes, rather against the author's name having appeared, and the "Vedderburn's," which, from the spelling, I cannot think to have been their own conjecture, may yet have been a written addition merely of an earlier possessor.

The name Wedderburn occurs frequently in Scottish History; the family took their name from the lands and barony of Wedderburn in Berwickshire, and the Wedderburns of Blackness and of Gosford both figure in the Baronage of Scotland. A member of the family settled in Dundee in the reign of James III., where the Wedderburns had multiplied into a numerous connection in the middle of the 16th century. Three brothers, James, John, and Robert, are specially distinguished in connection with the early history and literature of the Scottish Reformation. James, the eldest, "exhibited proofs of dramatic talents, having converted the History of John the Baptist into a dramatic poem, and also the History of Dionysius the Tyrant," in both of which, acted at Dundee, "he carped roughlie the abusses & corruptions of the Papists, counterfeiting their lying impostures, miracles," &c. Such performances soon attracted the attention of the clergy, and obliged him in the year 1540 to flee to France; notwithstanding that he was denounced from Scotland as "an heretick" he continued to reside at Dieppe, or Rouen, till about 1550, when he died, according to Calderwood, giving to his son the dramatic injunction, "We have been acting our part in the theater: you are to succeid; see that you act your part faith-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Preface to "The Gude and Godlie Ballates of 1578," edited by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1868, where will be found all that is known of the Dundee Wedderburns, with the accounts in Calderwood's MS. History, 1636, given in full.

fullie." The second brother John took priest's orders, but soon beginning to profess the reformed doctrines, was summoned on a charge of heresy, and escaped to Germany (ab. 1538), where he sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon. "He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scotish meter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rhymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of James V. in Dec. 1542, but was again pursued by the Cardenall, and fled to England," where we hear no more of him. The youngest brother Robert, likewise in priest's orders, shared the Lutheran opinions of the two others. When he was coming home from Paris (where he completed the education began at St Andrew's), in a ship which was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norway "upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passengers, some Popish, and some Protestantes, he, and the rest of his fellowes tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the Cardinall's death, to make his portraiture, or statue of ane great oaken blocke, and therupon write his name in paper affixed theron. They accuse him, condemne him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The Cardinall was slaine that verie day, in the morning, in his own Castell of Sanct Andrewes." Calderwood. Notwithstanding these opinions Robert Wedderburn succeeded his mother's brother, Mr Robert Barry, as Vicar of Dundee (Scottish benefices were even more directly hereditary than this in the 16th century), which office he still held in 1553, and to him are ascribed, as to his brother John, a large part of those parodies or alterations of Popular Songs or Ballads, found in the collection of the "Gude & Godlie Ballates," recently reprinted by Mr Laing from the original edition of 1573.

To this Robert Wedderburn, also, as being in 1549 "still alive and officially connected with the Romish church," Mr Laing seems at length disposed to assign the authorship of the Complaynt of Scotland. "I have little hesitation," he says, "in assigning to Mr Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, the credit of being the author of that remarkable production, the Complayer of Scotland, printed (at St Andrew's) in 1549. In coming to this con-

clusion, we have his residence in the vicinity of St Andrew's, the general tone and character of the book, as conveying the sentiments of one who was, perhaps, inclined in his heart to be a Reformer, although retaining his connection with the Romish Church, and who imitated Sir David Lyndesay in exposing (with a deal of pedantic learning) the prevailing abuses of the time; and more especially his familiarity with the popular literature of the time, while enumerating the names of songs, dances, &c., of which Dr Leyden mentions seven among those which Wedderburn himself is supposed to have 'metamorphosed' in the present collection of Gude & Godlie BALLATES." The argument from St Andrew's of course (as I think that the writer of these words saw, when we examined the early Scotch printed remains in 1870) falls to the ground. But independently of that, and while disposed to give every weight to the authority of the Harleian Catalogue as to "Vedderburn"—while admitting also, that in a growing age like that of the Reformation, a man who wrote the Complaynt one year, might come to write "Hay trix, tryme go trix, under the greenwood tree," "Hay now the day dawis," or "God send euerie Priest ane wyfe and euerie Nunne ane man," a few years after, wide as is the gap between the two positions-I yet cannot identify our author with the Vicar of Dundee. If my view of Chapter XIX. be correct (see ante, p. lx), one who was years before so far advanced in Lutheranism as to have made (according to Calderwood) professed Protestants his chief associates in Paris, and to have, not in a momentary freak, but as the outcome of a "continual disputation between Protestants and Papists," burned in effigy the great Cardinal, was not the man to write that chapter, nor, indeed, to be the thorough-paced partisan of the French faction, of which the Cardinal was the hero and the martyr, that the author of the Complaynt proved himself to be. Further, Wedderburn a native of Dundee would not have written in the Southern variety of Scotch.

Leaving the external authority as too slender and conflicting to lead to any conclusion, Dr Leyden, in editing the *Complaynt* in 1801, endeavoured from internal evidence to make out a case in favour of the authorship of Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Lord

COMPLAYNT.

Lyon King at Arms of Scotland, and the most prominent poet of his day, whose works, after half a century of neglect, have again been rendered accessible to the general reader by the editions of the Early English Text Society, and of Mr Laing. Leyden elaborated a very extensive and, it must be confessed, very striking series of coincidences, in form, style, manner, and matter, between the Complaynt and the Poems of Lyndesay, maintaining that these were of such a kind as to be explicable only on the hypothesis of common authorship. I do not think I am called upon here to reproduce his argument, which is probably one of the most successful pieces of special pleading in existence, but need only say that under coincidences in title, he points out that Lyndesay wrote many Complaynts (The C. of the Papyngo—the C. of Sir D. Lyndesay—the C. of Bagsche -the C. of the Commounweill of Scotland), and many Exhortations: that, in manner, both authors apologize for writing in the vulgar tongue -he does not tell that Lyndesay's was for writing in our "Inglische toung,"-both quote, and in almost similar terms, Carion's account of the prophecy of "Hely," applying it so as to fix the date of their own writing; Lyndesay in his Dialogue discusses the mutabilities of monarchies and the causes of present misery, enumerates in similar terms the miseries of Scotland, "a thrinfald wand of flagellation, mortal weiris, hunger and peste;" quotes the proverb, "Wo to the realme that hes ouir 30ung ane kyng;" uses the simile of the correcting rod thrown into the fire when it has done its work; refers to the young Queen in France; uses many of the same historical illustrations (Death of Cyrus, Battle of Cannae, Sardanapalus, &c.), quotes several of the same authors; in his Dreme of Dame Remembrance, uses machinery similar to that employed in the Vision of Dame Scotia, depicting a rural scene, and a sea scene, where, it must be confessed, the similarity of treatment is very remarkable; describes Iohne the Commonweil in terms closely agreeing with those employed of Dame Scotia's youngest son in the Complaynt; causes him in the Sature to complain of the Spiritualitie and Temporalitie, accusing the latter at least of nearly the same oppression and wrong, &c. In short, had there been nothing on the other side, the circumstantial evidence for Lyndesay's authorship would almost have been decisive;

but there is another side with arguments, as I think, far stronger. It has already been shown that our author was almost certainly a priest; Lyndesay was a layman, with a mental character about as far removed from the priestly as has ever existed. But, besides, he had long since crossed the line which separates the Catholic from the Protestant. His works date from 1528 to 1553; they exhibit in the author's religious belief a steady and progressive revolt against the dogmas of the Church, and an eye wide awake, as any in the nineteenth century, to the bottomless abyss of hypocrisy and pollution in which the Spirituality had plunged Scotland. Whether we take his sentiments as exhibited in works written years before, or those which he must even then have been committing to paper in his long poem of the Monarché published three or four years after, we cannot for a moment imagine him as the writer of any of the passages in the Complaynt bearing upon the Spirituality, the Sectes, or the Schism. As little can we impute to him the political opinions, or the exclusive sentiments of nationality exhibited by our author; Lyndesay, as a Reformer, a friend of Knox, and avenger of George Wishart, an avowed enemy and satirizer of Cardinal Beaton, nowhere in his works manifests the Anglophobia of the Complaynt; but, on the contrary, denounces the Prelates as the cause of the unhappy embroilments with England. While the author of the Complaynt endeavours to separate Scotch and English, as sheep and wolves, Jews and Samaritans, Lyndesay ignores political distinctions, claiming "Chaucer, Gower, and Lidgate laureate," as poets who wrote "in till our vulgare toung," and in every passage where the subject comes up, speaks of his language as "our Inglisch toung," an epithet which the author of the Complaynt rejects with indignation and contempt. Lyndesay does, indeed, in an early work put into the mouth of Folie, when enumerating the competitors for a fool's cap she has to bestow, after the mode of a cardinal's hat,

> Quhat cummer haue 3e had in Scotland, Be our auld enemies of Ingland? Had nocht bene the support of France, We had bene brocht to great mischance.—Satyre, l. 4564;

but our "auld enemies of Ingland" was a stock phrase, recited in all the Scottish acts, and the poem in question was written long before James V. quarrelled with England, when, indeed, he was raising high hopes in Henry VIII. that he would join him in resistance to the papal power. Lyndesay's later allusions to England and English things are uniformly friendly and favourable. Finally, Lyndesay has left us copious specimens of his language. It is most characteristically the dialect of Fife, abounding in peculiarities which differ entirely from the Southern Scotch of the Complaynt, and which would have been to me an insuperable difficulty, even though it had stood alone, in viewing him as the author.

In conclusion, the only things I consider certain as to the author, are, (1) that he was a distinct and thorough partisan of the French side; (2) that he was a churchman, still attached to the Catholic faith; (3) that he was a native of the Southern, not improbably of the Border, counties. Sir David Lyndesay is peremptorily excluded from consideration; no less so, I think, is Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee; in lack of further evidence, the claims of Sir James Inglis of Cumbuskenneth, and of some unknown priest of the name of Wedderburn, are equally balanced, though, if the part of Mackenzie's Life which calls Inglis a Fife man belongs to this Inglis, the evidence of dialect would be against him.

### V. REPRINTS.

LORD HAILES in editing poems from the Bannatyne MS. had declared, that "if the study of Scottish History should ever revive, a new edition of Inglis's Complaynt would be an acceptable present to the public," and a limited edition extending to 150 copies was printed by Dr John Leyden (author of the "Scenes of Infancy" and other poems), at Edinburgh, 1801. Leyden's work is very carefully and faithfully done, the few errors in the text which I have come upon occurring mainly in those leaves which were wanting in the copies to which the editor himself had access, and for which he was obliged to depend on the work of others. His edition, however, professes to answer page for page, and line for line, to the original; this it does only roughly; at the beginnings of the chapters especially, which have a large 6-line letter in the original, the first

REPRINTS. exvii

twenty or thirty lines have no correspondence. Notwithstanding minor defects, however, as the use of a z for the 3 of the original, occasional omissions of the sign of contraction, which Leyden did not expand, &c., the work is a creditable piece of scholarship for the beginning of this century, when such low feelings prevailed generally as to the importance of literal accuracy—indeed the editor was attacked by no less an authority than Pinkerton, for not printing the text "as a classic," i. e. cooking the spelling, &c., as he himself would have done. A long and valuable Introduction, though badly arranged, and sometimes irrelevant, displayed an immense acquaintance with early literature, and by the accounts and specimens which it furnished of works only existing in MS. or unique old impressions did much to stimulate the formation of the great printing clubs of Scotland a generation ago, which again in their turn paved the way for the Early English Text and kindred popular Societies of the present day. Remarks on the language, for which Leyden was specially fitted, and which would have been a real gain to Scottish Philology, clearing the subject of the fantastic nonsense with which Pinkerton and his followers managed to invest it, he was obliged for want of space to omit. His glossary, however, is of very considerable value, and the information contained in it has been largely used by others with and without acknowledgment.

The accuracy of Leyden's edition has enabled me to dispense with copying the original; a copy of Leyden's was carefully read and collated by me with the originals in the British Museum first of all, and having been brought into conformity with these, was used for printing from. The sheets have subsequently been twice read with the original, and now, I believe, accurately reproduce it, although one Erratum in the text has unfortunately escaped my notice till after the sheet was printed off:

page 176, l. 124, for the spyit read and spyit.

Contractions, according to the rule of the Society, have been expanded, and side-notes added, epitomizing the text. These additional notes being in small roman type, will not be confounded with the marginal notes of the original in larger italics. I felt a little

difficulty what to do with the misprints of the original, whether to let them stand in the text, and correct them beneath, in which one might often be merely perpetuating a turned n as a u, and vice versa, or to correct them in the text and place the original under; the latter has been done, at the risk, it may be, of now and then altering, as a misprint, what was only a variety of spelling on the part of the writer. At least, in every alteration, the original is given below, except in the case of Latin citations in the margin, where obvious misprints have been corrected without remark. Having had opportunities of fully examining the two copies in the British Museum, and that in the Advocate's Library (for which I have to acknowledge the courteous help of the late Mr Halkett, and of Mr Jamieson in the Advocate's Library, of the late Mr Watts, of Mr W. Blenchley Rye, and many other officers of the British Museum), I have paid especial attention to the indications of alterations made in the original edition before the sheets left the printer, and which are described in the preceding pages. The true character of these alterations had not before been observed: Leyden does not seem to have known of their existence.

The specimen folio (p. vi), in which our excellent printers, Messrs Childs—to whose care, indulgence, and patience with the irregularities of amateur editors I have to bear grateful testimonyhave produced as close a facsimile of the original as could be done by new clean type, gives an excellent idea of the appearance of the book, presenting as it does all the varieties of type contained in it; the outside lines show the size of the pages. Mr W. H. Hooper, who cut the initial A for us, was so much taken with the T which begins the book, that he reproduced it also, and made a present of it to the Society: unluckily the first sheet of the text had long been printed off, but I have managed to make use of his gift to lead off this Introduction, where it faces the specimen folio; many readers will join me in thanking him for this full illustration of the ornamental initials of the original. The assistance which I have received from numerous fellow-workers, especially from Mr David Laing of Edinburgh, Mr Furnivall, Mr G. M. Hantler, and Rev. W. W. Skeat, has been acknowledged as occasion presented, and I

have here again to express my thanks for their valued aid, as well as for the painstaking labour of my wife who compiled the Glossary, and of Miss Toulmin Smith, who copied the Appendix documents from the originals in the British Museum.

The APPENDIX contains four tracts on the English side of the question, which it seemed desirable to print, on account of their extreme scarcity, and because they, or some of them at least, are referred to and combated in the *Complaynt*.

No. I. The "Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottes" was issued in 1542 on the outbreak of hostilities between Henry VIII. and James V., in consequence of the latter breaking his promise to meet his uncle at York. "The first step was a letter to the Archbishop of York by the Council, who . . . . state the resolution 'to have the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland more fully, plainly, and clearly set forth to all the world; and the Archbishop Lee, who is understood to be learned in such matters, is ordered to assist in making out a case 'with all convenient expedition.'"1 The Declaration accordingly recounts the acts of kindness done by Henry VIII. to his nephew during the minority of the latter, the repeated disappointments and indignities with which he had been rewarded by the bad faith of the Scottish king, and the determined spirit of hostility which leaves him no resource but that of the sword. Then passing from the immediate cause of the war we have a revival of the English claims over Scotland as put forth by Edward I. with Brutus, Albanactus and Locrinus once more trotted out in their support, and followed by a long list of the occasions on which the English supremacy had been acknowledged or enforced by their successors. This pamphlet, of which the part referring to current events has been reproduced in Holinshead's History of Scotland, and by Mr Froude, seemed worth printing in full, as, whether or not directly referred to in the Complaynt, it is the foundation of the pamphlets which followed on the English side and are attacked by our author. It is here reprinted from the Grenville copy 5945, in the British Museum Library, a small 4to, black-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. H. Burton, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 369.

letter, of fourteen leaves, besides those bearing the title-page and colophon.<sup>1</sup>

No. II. "An Exhortscion to the Scottes to conforme themselfes to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Vnion betweene the two Realmes of Englande & Scotland." This is a longer document than the preceding; it was published in 1547, when the Duke of Somerset was already approaching the Scottish frontier on the expedition which terminated at Pinkie, by "James Harryson, Scottisheman," who therein implores his countrymen to pause in their career of blind antipathy to England, before they feel the weight of the Protector's arm. The writer displays especial antagonism to the [Roman] clergy of Scotland, whom he accuses again and again of being the instigators of the deplorable hostilities between the two countries; he was probably himself one of the refugees who had fled to England to escape the tender mercies of the Cardinal. tence in the tract ought to help us in identifying the author and his share in the events of the time; it is this (p. 225): "If I should here entre into declaracion of the righte & title, wherby the kynges of England claime to be superior lordes of Scotland, I should of some be noted, rather a confounder of our liberties and fredomes, then a conservator, (which name I had late)." As in the Declaration of Henry VIII., to which Harryson refers his readers for further information, the story of Brutus and his sons is duly set forth and defended; but not content with this, the author proceeds to a critical dissection of the rival Scottish legend of Scota and Gathelus, which he stigmatizes as a mere monkish lie, a specimen of the bread made from the "Coccle which their father Sathan had sowen emong the Corne," wherewith the priests "have fedde the silly people, utteryng their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities." raises his voice, too, against the Scottish league with France, holding up to ridicule the sorry figure cut by poor Jehan de Escoce, when "as a Cypher in Algorism," he serves but as Jupiter's block for the contumely and insults of the Frogges of France. It is noteworthy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It bears a MS. note in the handwriting of Mr Grenville: "I have not heard of any copy of the original Declaration being extant except the present."

also that in personifying Britain as the common mother of English and Scotch, addressing her unnatural and discordant children, he gives a first sketch of a figure amplified in the two following pamphlets, and developed at full length in the *Complaynt*, in the personification of Dame Scotia and her sons. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the King's Library, 288a 40, Brit. Mus. (64 leaves, small 8vo, black-letter), which wants the title-page (here supplied from Lowndes, and therefore not an imitation, as in the case of the other documents of the Appendix).

No. III. The "Epistle or Exhortacion to vnitie and peace" appeared in the year following the "Scottisheman's" Exhortation, after the battle of Pinkie, foreshadowed in it, had been fruitlessly fought and won. It differs greatly from the manifestoes that had preceded it, in its moderation of tone, persuasive reasoning, and omission of all claim to supremacy over Scotland, leaving us with the impression that had it appeared first rather than last, its results might have been more satisfactory. From it we learn that the preceding pamphlets had been by the leaders of affairs in Scotland kept from the knowledge of the people; to this the Protector attributes in part the necessity for the recent battle, which he professes to deplore as deeply as the Scots can. The main part of the argument is devoted to showing the advantages which would result to Scotland from a union of the two realms, by the marriage of the sovereigns, for which he vainly implores the Scottish nation to renew the contract. Great attractions are also held out to individual Scotchmen who will adhere to the English interest, and further the reasonable aims of the English statesmen. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 5912, a small 8vo of twenty-eight leaves, black-letter. That foreign nations might be enabled to judge of the righteous character of the English demands, this pamphlet appeared simultaneously in English and Latin, the title of the latter being "Epistola exhortatoria ad pacem missa ab illustrissimo Principe Domino Protectore Angliae, ac caeteris Regiae Maiestatis Consiliariis ad Nobilitatem ac plebem, universumq: populum Regni Scotiae, Lond. per Reg. Wolfium, 1548." 4to, contains D, in fours (Lowndes), printed, like the English edition, by Richard Grafton.

No. IV. "An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande hath to the sourreigntic of Scotlande, continued vpon the auncient writers of both nacions." This pamphlet appeared in the same year (1548), and from the same press as the preceding. probably to be regarded as a weapon kept in reserve, lest the silence of Somerset's epistle as to the English claims of supremacy should ever be adduced as a renunciation of these claims. The author in his dedication to Edward VI. styles himself Nicholas Bodrugan. otherwise Adams, and the contents of his pamphlet, no less than his name, testify to his being a Welshman. His history is an abridgment of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it is amusing to see how in vindicating the rights of the English kings, he ignores the fact that the English are not descendants of the ancient Britains, mentioning indeed Hengist and Horsa and the false Saxons' blood as invaders, against whom the English kings had to contend, while Alfred and Athelstan are lineal descendants of Arthur and the old British princes. To this fiction the author of the Complaynt probably refers in Chapter XI. p. 86, top. As the pamphlet is very lengthy, I have not thought it necessary to print his tedious abstract of Geoffrey, and have therefore cut short his "history" at Ferrex and Porrex, and returned to him when he returns to Scottish matters (see p. 251). The author says that one objection alleged by the Scotch to the proposed union was their dread of the severity of the English laws; in reply to which he volunteers to show that those of Scotland are much more iniquitous. But the objection in any case was untenable, as it would be quite possible for Scotland to retain her own laws, as indeed "divers places of England have sundry laws to this day." Taking up the figure of the "Scottisheman," he concludes with a personification of "oure countrey the common parent to vs all," calling upon her rebellious children of Scotland to deport themselves no longer as a Viper's brood, rending and tearing the mother who had brought them forth; and asking "the whole members of her family of all great Briteigne" henceforth to cultivate friendship and mutual love, as zealously as they had aforetime persecuted one another with fire and sword. Two copies of Bodrugan's "Epitome" are in the Library of the British Museum. One of these c.n. h has

MS. notes by the author correcting its numerous typographical errors, and sometimes inserting clauses: these are here included within brackets. The book is small 8vo, black-letter, containing 62 leaves, and one page bearing the colophon.

Such were the works "set furth by the oratours of ingland at ther protectours instance," which, along with the prophecies of Merline already given (p. xlii), the author of the *Complaynt* sought to combat in his vision of Dame Scotia. A perusal of them helps us to realize more vividly the conditions under which he wrote; and though they have swollen the volume beyond the limits originally intended, it is believed that readers will be glad to have them all together as necessary accompaniments of a complete edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland*.

I have now only to apologize for the length to which these introductory remarks have extended. I should have been glad if they could have been shortened without the omission of any point requiring illustration; failing this, I have endeavoured by clearness of arrangement, to put it in the power of readers to find at once what they want; and I hope that they will in return, and in consideration of the very great labour which the work has cost me, look leniently upon the numerous points in which, under a heavy pressure of other work, I may have failed to satisfy their ideas of an Editor's duty.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

Sunnyside, Mill Hill, N.W., July, 1872.



# TO THE EXCEL-

#### LENT AND ILLVSTIR

Marie Quene of Scotlande, the margareit and perle of princessis.

THE immortal gloir, that procedis be the rycht The renown of lyne of vertu, fra 3our magnanime auansing of tion is spread the public veil of the affligit realme of scotlande, countries, is abundantly dilatit athort al cuntreis; throught the 4 quhilk, the precius germe of your nobilite bringis nocht producing not furtht, alanerly, branchis ande tendir leyuis of vertu: leaves of virtue, bot as veil it bringis furtht salutiffere & hoilsum frute but salutary fruit of honour, quhilk is ane immortal ande supernatural a sovereign medicyne, to cure & to gar convallesse al the langorius affliction of desolat & affligit pepil, quhilkis ar al mast disparit of the people, who are almost mennis supple, ande reddy to be venquest & to be cum driven to despair by the invasions randrit in the subjection ande captiuite of our mortal of our old ald enemeis, be rason that ther cruel invasions aperis 13 to be onremedabil. The special cause of our afflictione [olean 2, back] hes procedit of thre vehement plagis quhilk hes al proceed from maist succumbit oure cuntre in final euertione. that is causes: to saye, the cruele inuasions of oure ald enemeis, the the inroads of the vniuersal pestilens ande mortalite, that hes occurit postilence, and mercyles among the pepil, ande the contentione of dissension.

only branches and

of honour: nemies.

Our afflictions three chiet English, the

Illustrious princess!

your rule daily adds to the

Your virtue surpasses that of the ancient heroines

recorded by Plutarch or Boccaccio, in your skilful resistance of the cruel wolves of England,

[\* leaf 3 (misp. 5)] more ferocious than those that devour cattle and sheep.

land.

They have ever been our enemies. and since the death of your late husband, James

they have plotted anew the ruin of Scotland.

29 affligit pepil, ande alse beand mouit contrar the rauisant But Providence has made you an instrument of deliverance.

as Queen Esther was from Haman,

diverse of the thre estaitis of scotland, throught the quhilk thre plagis, the vniuersal pepil ar be cum disti-3 tute of iustice, policie, ande of al verteus bysynes of body ande saul. Ande nou, illustir princes, engendrit of magnanime genoligie, & discendit of Royal progenituris, your regement ande gouernyng, ande alse public well-being. 3 our honorabil amplitude of verteouse dignite incressis 8 daly in the contenual auansing of the deffens of oure cuntre; quhar for your heroyque vertu is of mair admi-

> ratione, nor vas of valeria the dochtir of the prudent consul publicola, or of cloelia, lucresia, penolope, cor-12 nelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir verteouse lady that plutarque or bocchas hes discriuit, to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar nocht to be comparit to the actis that your prudens garris daly be exsecut, contrar the cruel voffis! of ing-

> > The quhilk; volffis ar nocht the ra'uand sauuage

volffis of strait montanis ande vyild fforrestis, that deuoris nolt ande scheip for ther pray: bot rather tha ar dissaitful volfis quhilkis hes euir been oure ald Ande nou sen the deceis of oure nobil illustir enemeis. prince kying iames the fyift, your vmquhile faythtful lord and hisband, tha said rauisant volfis of ingland hes 24 intendit ane oniust veyr be ane sinister inuentit false titil contrar our realme, in hope to deuoir the vniuersal floc of oure scottis natione, ande to extinct oure generatione furtht of rememorance: Bot nochtheles, gode of his diuyne bounte, heffand compassione of his pure

ane instrament to delyuir vs fra the captivite of the cruel philaris the protector of ingland: as he inspirit queen esther to delyuir the captine ieuis, quhen thai & mordocheus var sinisterly accusit, and alse persecutit,

be amman, befor<sup>2</sup> assuerus kyng of inde.<sup>3</sup> and as the

volfis of ingland, he of his grace hes inspirit 3ou to be

1 misprint for volfis?

s be for

8 iude

holy vedou iudich vas inspirit to delyuir the ieuis fra and Judith from Ther is Judit 8. the crualte of that infideil pagan 1 oliphernes. na prudent man that vil iuge2 'that this pistil procedis of assentatione or adulatione, considerant that we maye me of flattery see perfytlye quhou that 3 our grace takkis pane to who considers the sacrifices you duelle in ane straynge cuntre distitute of iustice. Ande make in staying here. als your grace beand absent fra your only 30ng dochter, absent from your our nobil princes, and rychteous heretour of scotland: (Mary Stewart), quha is presentlye veil tretit in the gouernance of hyr 9 fadir of lau, the maist illustir potent prince of the maist who is with her fertil & pacebil realme, vndir the machine of the in France, supreme olimp, quhar that 30ur grace mycht remane & peaceful realm, duel amang the nobil princis & princessis of France, quhilkis ar 3our native frendis of consanguinite ande 14 affinite, ande ther ze mycht posses abundance of al where you also pleiseirs most convenient for your nobilite, bot git, the comfort, feruent loue that your grace baris touart that tendir pupil 3our only dochtir, ande for the delyuering of hyr but for your heretage 3 furtht of captiuite, 3e daly of 3our gudnes daughters induris as grit pane, as the queen ysicrata indurit witht hyr lorde metredates. 3our grace deseruis nocht to be 21 callit ane nobil, alanerly throcht4 your verteous verkis. bot as veil 3e suld be callit ane nobil of genolligie, be You are also noble rason that 3e ar discendit of the maist vailgeant princis that ar vndir the cape of hauyn.5 ther can nocht be ane mair ample probatione, nor is the famous atentic authentic chrocroniklis of divers realmes, ande alse the verteouse realma, verkis dune be 30ur antecessours in oure dais ar within our own euident til vs in this present seicle. In the fyrst, zour grace is discendit of them, quhilkis be ther vertu ande 30 be ther victoreus6 actis hes kepit ande deffendit the Yourancestors liberte of ther subjectis in sure pace ande tranquilite, liberties of their ande hes repulsit vailgeantly al externe violens. 30ur people. foir grandscheir godefroid of billon kyng of iherusalem, Your great-grand-

Holophernes.

[\* leaf 3, back] No one can accuse who considers only daughter

father-in-law that rich and

might dwell in

heritage.

by genealogy,

[\* leaf 4] as proved by the nicles of diverse

defended the

father, Godfrey de Bouillon.

<sup>1</sup> pagam <sup>9</sup> inge 3 here age (not heruage, as L. says). <sup>6</sup> victore' 4 trocht 5 hanyn

defended Lor-

and delivered the Holy Land.

Think how he was C withstood by the Paynim hosts!

[\* leaf 4, back]

His brother Baldwin, and his successors, kings of Sicily, dukes of

Anjou, Calabria, and Lorraine.

Your grandfather René, king of Sicily, slew Charles the Bold at Nancy.

Charlis due of burgungze masthe grand-scheir to this empriour (harlis the fyift kyng of spangze,

Your father's brother Anthony, duke of Calabria, Lorraine, and Bar,

[\* leaf 5]

hes nocht alanerly kepit ande deffendit his pepil ande subjectis of loran, fra his prochane enemeis that lyis 3 contigue about his cuntre: bot as veil be his magnanyme proues ande martial exsecutione, he delyurit the holy land of iudia furtht of the handis & possessione of the infideil pagans: quhar for the vniuersal historiagrephours hes baptist hym to be ane of the principal of al 8 the nyne noblis. for quha vald considir the longinguite of his martial voyaige, ande the grite forse of the oriental pepil, ande the multitude of infidelis ande pagan princis, quhilkis impeschit hym in that barbir 12 straynge cuntre be diverse cruel battellis: this veil considrit, thai sal fynd that his magnanyme he roique ande martial entreprise, vas conuovit & succurrit be ane diuyne miracle, rather nor be the ingyne of men. it vil 16 be ouer prolixt to rehers all the vailgeant actis of baudouyne<sup>2</sup> his broder ande successour to the realme of ierusalem, ande na les prolixt to rehers of his successours, quhilkis var your predecessours, kyngis of secilie. dukis of aniou, calabre, ande of loran. i suld nocht forzet the tryumphant victore, exsecut ande conqueist be the vailzeant ande nobil rene inuictissime kyng of secilie, duc of calabre, ande loran, your gudscheir, contrar that potent prince Charles duc of Burgungie, quhilk vas repute to be ane of the maist nobil men of veyr in cristianite: git nochtheles, he vas venqueist ande slane, be syde the toune of nancy, be the foir said rene 3our gudscheir: quhar for it aperis veil (illustir princes) that 3e ar discendit doune lynyalye of them that hes been propungnatours for the libertee of ther cuntre ande Siklyke the nobilnes of your vmquhile fadir 31 subjectis. broder antonius, duc of calabre, loran, ande of bar, quha mave be comparit to the deuot kyng, Numa pompilius, the sycond kyng of rome, for his prudens ande dixtirite, be rason that he has kepit his subjectis in liberte but

oppressione, quhou beit his cuntre lay betuix tua of the maist potent princis that ringis in this yarld: that is to 2 say, the catholic kyng of spange elect empriour on ane skilfully steered syde, ande the maist potent cristyn kyng of France on France and Spain the tothir syde, the quhilkis tua riche kyngis hes hed diuerse tymes birnand mortal veyr contrar vthirs, git which were often nochtheles zour nobil fadir broder, duc of calabre ande loran, hes kepit his landis in liberte fra ther oppressione, 8 the quhilk he did be vailzeantnes ande prudens. Siklyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, ihone of loran, be the permissione diuyne, Cardi- John of Lorrain, nal of the apostolic seige, archebischop of narbon, abbot bishop of Narof cluny, fekkem, ande of sanct ouyne, quha is 30ur Fecamp, and 8t fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens for the public veil uncle, off cristianite, hes been mediatour betuix divers forane 15 princis, to treit pace ande concorde in diuerse cuntreis, as in ytalie, germanie, flandris,1 ande spanze, quha hes nocht alanerly vsit hym lyik ane sperutual pastor, bot as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vailgeant captan, for renowned both in ane verteous captain can nocht exsecut ane mair vail- temporal matters. zeant act as quhen he purchessis pace ande concord, 21 wytht out diminutione of his rycht, an'de witht out [ leaf 5, back] domage slauchtir or hayrschip to be amang the pepil, as this nobil prelat hes dune diverse tymes, vytht out dirrogatione of his speritual dignite. Nou (illustir 25 princes) i vil reherse of 3our nobil ande vailgeant fadir, Your father, the the duc of guise, lieutenant general to the kyng of France, of all the cuntre of champayngge ande brie: his actis vald be prolixt to reherse, quhilkis hes been laitly exsecutit in oure dais. The memor of ane of his actis is recent, quhen he pat ane garnison of tua thou- 31 sand men vitht in the toune of sanct quintyne, rycht relieved St vailgeantly, contrar the vil of thretty thousand of his enemeis, quhar he gart mony of his enemeis resaue ther sepulture be for the said toune, wytht out domage or 35

Cardinal Arch-

spiritual and

Duke of Guise,

and raised the siege of Perone:

hurt til his men of veyr, quhar for euerye man maye

meruel of his dexterite, vertu, ande martial sciens. his
magnanyme proues did ane vthir vailgeant act, he
beand bot sex thousand men, he held in subjectione
fourty thousand at the seige of perone, ther durst none
of that grit companye pas bakuart nor forduart, be rason
of the mony assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid
contrar them, quhar that he sleu mony of them, vytht
out domage tyl his men of veyr; be that 'industreus
martial act, he renforsit the toune vitht victualis, hagbutaris, ande munitions. for the hagbutaris past neir to
the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrit in the toune but
resistance, be cause that 30ur nobil fadir held the grit

while he kept the enemy awake on the other side,

[\* leaf 6]

The town of Saverne bears witness of his prowess,

in the Peasant

You are thus truly noble both by virtue and descent.

[\*leaf 6, back] I have been so bold as to present to you the first work of my pen. I had difficulty in deciding what to write about.

martial act, he renforsit the toune vitht victualis, hagbutaris, ande munitions. for the hagbutaris past neir to 12 the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrit in the toune but resistance, be cause that your nobil fadir held the grit armye of enemeis valkand on ther tothir syde, throught the grit assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid contrar The toune of sauerne baris vytnes of his delegent vailzeantnes, that he maid contrar the iminent dangeir that was cummand on the realme of France, at that tyme quhen ane multitude and infinit nummir of men of veyr, ande vthirs that lyuit vitht out lau, dis-21 cendit fra the hight of germanye. thai var of diverse sectis, haldant straynge opinions contrar the scriptour. thai purposit to compel al cristianite tyl adhere to ther peruerst opinione: git nochtheles ther disordinat inten-25 tione was haistyly repulsit ande extinct be the martial sciens of your nobil & vailgeant fadir. Thir vailgeant actis of your predecessours (illustir princes) ande your grit prudens, makkis manifest, that your grace is ane rycht nobil, baytht of vertu ande of genoligie. al thir 30 thingis befor rehersit, i beand summond be institutione of ane gude zeil, hes tane ane teme rare consait to present to your nobil grace ane tracteit of the fyrst laubir of my pen. bot 3it i vas lang stupefact ande timide, for falt of ane peremptoir conclusione, i nocht heffand ane perfyte determinatione of quhat purpos or

mater that var maist necessair ande honest to be dilatit: 1 than dredour ande schame beand repulsit fra my melancolius cogitations, i began to revolve the librarye of I searched the my vndirstanding, ande i socht all the secreit corneris brain, of my gazophile, ymaginant witht in the cabinet of my 5 interior thochtis, that ther var na mater mair convenient and concluded it ande necessair for this present dolorus tyme, nor to reherse the cause ande occasione of the onmersiful afflic- land and their tione of the desolat realme of scotland, the quhilk desolatione hes occurrit be the mischance of fureous mars, 10 that hes violently ocupeit the domicillis of tranquil pace, that sueit goddes of humaine felicite, the guhilk tracteit i hef dediet ande direckyt to zour nobil grace, Deign to accept in hope that your grace vil resaue it as humainly as it tractate! var ane riche present of grit consequens. it vas the 15 custum of perse, that none of the subjectis durst cum A Persian in the presens of ther kyng, bot gyf the brocht sum every one who gyft or present to be delyurit til hym efferand 'for ther qualite. the historigraphours rehersis of ane pure man king to bring a of perse, quha be chance rencountrit? kyng darius. this pure man throught grit pouerte hed no thyng to present had nothing to tyll his kyng efftir the custum of perse,3 quhar for he ran fetched a "gowtil ane reueire that ran neir by, & brocht the palmis of water. his handis ful of that fresche vattir to the kyng for ane it for the spirit present. that nobil kyng, persauand the gude vil ande and gave a handhartly obediens of this pure man, he resauit that litil quantite of cleen vattir as humainly as it hed been ane 27 riche present of gold, ande he gart delyuir to the said Exiguum pure man sex thousand peces of gold, and ane goldin dat tibi pauvattir lauar. fra this exempil cummis ane vlgare adagia, per amicus, quhilk sais, that quhen ane pure man makkis ane placide, sacrefeis. & throught his pouerte he vantis ensens to plene landare mak the seremons of his sacrefeis, that sacrefeis sal be Chato. acceptabil befor the goddis, be cause that he dois sa The gods accept mekil as his pissance maye distribute. it is vrytin in oblation though

most meet to miseries of Scotof my poor

[\* leaf 7] gift; A poor man who give, ran and pin full" of Darius accepted it showed. some reward.

custom required

a poor man's he has no incense.

St Mark tells how our Saviour commended the poor widow more than the rich men. Cum venisset autom una vi-[\* leaf 7, back] dua pauper: misit duo minuta, quod est quadrans. Marci. 13. My hope is that you will similarly accept my poor offering, for the sake of my good intention. God preserve your grace!

Sanct marc, quhou oure saluiour estemeit ande commendit the oblatione of tua half penneis that vas offrit in the tempil be ane pure vedou that hed na mair moneye, nor! he estemeit the grite offrandis that vas offrit be riche opulent men. Nou for conclusione (illustir princes) my esperance is sa grite, that i beleif that 30ur grace vil resaue this tracteit as humainly, as kyng darius resauit the clene vattir fra the pure man of perse. this tracteit is na bettir nor as mekil vattir, bot 3it my gude vil & hartly intentione, ande my detful obediens, excedis the hartly intentione of the pure man that offrit the fayr vattir to kyng darius, prayand to god to preserue 30ur grace in perpetual felicite.

## PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

Amasis II., king of Egypt, made an ordinance against idleness. Indigetes var goddis of egipt quhilkis hed beene verteouse princes quhen thai lyuit.

[\* leaf 8] requiring every man to show how he earned his living. The Gymnosophists allowed no man refreshment until he could show that he had justly carned it. Gymniosophistes var philosophours of inde, quhilkis rar ay nakyt

MASIS the sycond, quhilk vas the last kyng ande indegete of the egiptiens, (ande, as diodore rehersis, he vas the fyift legislator of egipt), maid ane ordinance contrar the vice of ydilnes, that al his subiectis of egipt var oblist, vndir the pane of dede, to bring euery zeir ther namis, in vrit, to the prouest of the prouince guhar ther remanying vas, ande ther to testife the stait of 'ther vacatione, ande the maneir of ther lyuing. be this politic ordinance, the egiptiens var inducit tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyrne sciens, craftis, ande mecanyke occupations, maist comodius ande convenient for the public veil of egipt. Than efftir this ordinance of amasis, the Gymniosophistes institut ane mair strict ordinance amang the pepil of inde: that is to say, that ane person suld nocht be admittit to resaue his corporal refectione quhil on to the tyme that he hed manifest realye, or ellis be certan testificatione

the frutis of his laubours of the daye precedent. the vitht out ony severite of thir strict ordinance var augmentit be ane sort of clet-yng. ther docedict of sesostris the grit kyng of egipt: for he statut trine aperit ane ordinance til excerse his propir childir ande the civil lau nor 30ng princis ande gentil men of his court to vse them philosophie. til indure excesse of laubirs: he statut that none of them suld tak ther refectione quhil thai hed gone ande Sesostris allowed run the tyme of fife or sex houris: to that effect, that reflection till they throught sic excerse, ther membris mycht be purgit fra six hours. corruppit humours, the quhilkis humours nocht beand 10 degeistit, mycht be occasione to dul ther spreit, ande to mak ther body onabil<sup>2</sup> to resist ydilnes. thir ordinances of the egi°ptiens are verray necessair to be vsit in al [\*leaf8, back]
These ordinances realmys, be rason that the maist part of the pepil, are still needed. throught ther natural fraigilite, consumis the maist part Most people are of ther dais in vdilnes. This detestatione that i have rehersit of ydilnes, par chance maye be jugit be inuyful 17 ignorantis, that i condampe my self, in sa far as thai Ignorant critics persaue me nocht ocupeit vitht mecanyc byssynes. nou, idle in not to confound ignorant detrakkers, i vil arme me vitht practising some mechanical art. the vordis of publius scipio, as cicero rehersis in the prologe of the thrid beuk of his officis, sayand, that 22 scipio vas neuyr les ydil as quhen he aperit to be idil, nor he vas neiuyr les solitair as quhen he aperit to be solitair; for quhen he aperit to be ydil, than he was Let them solist in his mynde anent the gouvernyng of the public words of Scipio veil, ande quhen he aperit to be solitar, than he vas speikand vitht hym self anent his auen byssynes, 28 & sa he vas neuir ydil nor solitair, quhou beit that he aperit sum tyme in the sycht of the vulgaris to be ydil & solitair. nunquam se minus ociosum quam cum ociosus, nec minus solum quam cum solus esset. i vil apply thir vordis to my self. for The labour of the quhou beit that the laubir vitht the pen & the studie pastime, whatever on speculatione of vertu apeir to be ydilnes, 3it thai ar

[\* leaf 9]

It is my proper talent,

"no ydilnes, bot rather ane solist byssynes of the body 2 & of the spreit, ande nou, sen gode hes nocht dotit me vitht speculatione of liberal sciens nor philosophe, nor vitht stryntht of my body til indure seruile subjectione, nor git witht no art nor mecanyc craft, ther for i vil

The pen did more for the Romans

than the sword.

6 help to the auansing of the public veil witht my studye & vitht my pen. In the antiant dais, the romans var mair renforsit in curageus entreprisis be the vertu of the pen, ande be the persuasions of oratours, nor thai

var renforsit be the sourdis of men of veyr. Euerye craft

Every craft is necessary,

- is necessair for the public veil, ande he that hes the gyft of traductione, compiling or teching, his faculte is as honest, 13 as crafty, ande as necessair, as is to be ane marynel, ane marchant, ane cordinar, charpenteir, captan, ciuilist, or ony vthir crafft or sciens. ther is na degreis of vertu amang them, for gyf ane craft or sciens be gude, than
- it is as gude as ony craft can be, for al sortis of ver-18 teous2 facultes ar of ane lyik vertu, as cicero sais in the thrid of his paradoxis, that ane gude man can be na bettir nor ane vthir man that is gude; for gyf ane man be gude, than he is as gude as ony gude man can be: siclyik, gyf ane craft be gude, than it is as gude as ony craft 'can be; ther for ane man of ane craft suld nocht 24 detest ane vthir sort of craft, considerand that oure hurt nature hes nocht dotit ane man til vse al craftis.

ment serue for ane hammyr, ane turkes, ane file, ane

honourable. [\* leaf 9, back]

and equally

Man is not a gladius delphicus, Nihil enim natura facit tale quale statuarij delphicum gladium ob indiciam sed vnum ad enum. Polit. 1.

which was hammer, pincers,

Aristotil sais in the fyrst beuk of his politiques, that nature hes nocht maid ane man lyik gladius delphicus. The significatione of gladius delphicus is of this sort. delphos is ane solemnit place, on the hyl of pernasus, quhar ther standis ane tempil dedicat til appollo. ther cam daly to that tempil diverse pure men in pilgremage. ther duelt on that hil, smythis, & forgearis of yrn ande steil, the quhilkis culd mak ane instrament of yrn conuenient for mony officis, for tha vald gar ane instra-

2 verteo'

sourd, ane knyf, ande ane borrel, this sort of instra- file, sword, knife, mentis var sellit to pure pilgryms that hed nocht mekil in one. moneye to by ilk instrament be the self: ande be cause 3 that instrament seruit til mony officis, ther for it vas callit gladius delphicus, of this sort aristotil makkis ane comparisone, sayand, that nature hes nocht maid ane man abil for euerye craft or office, bot nature hes maid Each man has his ane man abil to be ane prince, ane abil to be ane seruand, ane abil to be ane clerk, ane abil to be ane 9 craftis man, be rason 'that oure hurt nature hes dividit oure complexions to be of diverse qualiteis; ande for Mille homithat cause ve sal fynd amang ane thousand men, ane num species A rerumdiscolor thousand consaitis ande ane thousand conditions. for that vsus; velle cause aristotil hes said in his politiques, that in ilk suum cuique est, nec voto comunite ther is ane multitude, ande ilk ane hes sum viuitur vno. part of vertu of diuerse degreis, ande ilk ane of thir perseus. degreis ar ordand til help vthirs in necessite. gyuis ane exempil in his retoric, quhou that the Ci. de fini. citinaris of cartomat in vtalve, sende for ane excellent 19 payntur, callit eracleon, thai promest to gyf hym ane grit some of moneye, for to paynt ane fayr ymage of the deesse iuno. than eracleon gart al the fayr ande Heracleon in best lyik 30ng vemen of that cite cum in his presens, chose the select ande than he chesit fife of the best lyik amang them al, beautier of five to be his patrone.2 quhen he hed contemplit & spyit 25 the proportions & propreteis of nature of thir fife ladeis he chesit the face of ane, the een of ane vthir, the handis of the thrid, the hayr of the feyrd, the armis, the myddil, ande the feit of the fyift; of this sort he formit the patrone of the ymage of iuno, efftir the pro- 30 portione of diverse of the membris of thir foirsaid fife 30ng ladeis, be cause he culd nocht 'get al his patrone [\* leaf 10, back] in ane special lady, for sche that was pleysand of hyr For no one was face, was nocht pleysand of hyr hayr, ande sche that and uniformly hed plesand handis, hed nocht pleysand een, ande sche

and wimble, all

[\* leaf 10]

Cicero Quot homines, tot sententie.

<sup>1</sup> Persius, Sat. iv. l. 51, 2.

<sup>2</sup> f. c. pattern.

omnia conueniunt. Cio. pro roscio amerino.

So no man can practise all crafts,

but each must contribute his own talent.

This to prevent the detraction of critics. Non tam eaque recta sunt proban-

tur, quam que prava sunt fastidiis adherent. Cio. de ora.

[\* leaf 11] who are readier to carp at those who do their best, than to try themselves. He who would please everybody, should first drink the ocean dry. Difficile in dicendo omnibus satisfacere. Yet I will not go beyond my capacity.

Hannibal in his adversity was the guest of Antiochus. This storye is in the apothigmes of plutaro.

Non in omnes that hed are veil proportionet body, hed euil proportionet feit; ande to conclude, he culd nocht get ane lady in special, that was sufficient to be his patrone, nor ait that culd be comparit til gladius delphicus, quhilk 5 was ane instrament that seruit til mony officis. exempil ve maye considir, that nature hes nocht dotit ane person to be qualifeit to excerse al sortis of craftis; for that cause aristotil sais that al sortis of craftis suld concur to gyddir, ande ilkane til help vthirs, as nature prouidit fyrst in the begynnyng. thir prolixt vordis be-11 for rehersit, ar ane preparative, contrar the detractione of inuyful clerkis that ar mair expert in latyne tong nor i am, quhilkis vil nocht set furtht ane gude verk tyl induce the pepil to vertu, nor zit vil correct my ignorant error; bot rather that ar mair prompt to repreif ane smal ignorant falt, nor to commende ane grit verteous act; bot zit no man suld decist fra ane gude purpose, quhou beit that detractione be armit vitht inuy \*reddy to suppedit & tyl impung ane verteous verk: for quhat euyr he be that intendis to compile ane verk to content euerye man, he suld fyrst drynk furtht the Ande quhou beit, that ther var na detrakoccean see. kers tyll accuse or to repreif my verkis, 3it nochtheles i suld nocht be ouer temerair to set furtht ane verk that surpassis my ingyne; for ane hen that seikis hyr meyt in the mydding, may scraipe sa lang amang the fyltht, quhil sche scraip furtht sum ald knyfe that hes been tynt, the quhilk knyfe cuttis hyr throt eftiruart, as i 29 sall apply ane exempil conformand to this samyn purpose, as eftir follouis.

¶ Annibal, that vailgeant cartagien, beand venquest be nobil scipion, past for refuge tyl anthiocus kyng of sirrie, quha vas at that tyme ane vailgeant prince: he resauit annibal in his realme, ande in his protectione, ande did hym grit honour ande reuerens, ane prince

ı verteo'

can nocht schau hym mair nobil, nor mair verteouse, as quhen he resauis in his fauoir ane desolat prince, disti- 2 tute of remeide, ande disparit of consolatione, quhilk hes bene violently affligit be aduerse fortoune, thir tua princis vsit oft to visye the feildis to tak ther 'recrea- [\*leaf 11, back] tione, ande to pas til hounting, ande til vthir gammis, 6 convenient for ther nobilite, at sum tyme thai vald pas The two princes to the sculis, to heir the lecture of ane philosophour the Academy callit phormion, quha remanit in the toune of ephisye, ande techit natural ande moral philosophie to the 30ng to hear him men of the cuntre. on ane day, thir tua princis be philosophy; chance entrit in the achademya, to heir ane lesson of 12 philosophie techit be the said phormion, philosophour. he persauand thir tua princis entir in his scule, he but he, seeing changit the mater of that present lecture, ande but his topie to the prouisione, he began to teche the ordour of the veyris, declarand quhou that captans suld ordour battellis con- 17 trar ther enemeis. this philosophour techit sa profundly teaching with the maneir of the ordoryng of battellis in presens of thir readiness the tua princis, that thai that herd hym neuyr of befor, battles. meruellit nocht alanerly of his quyk ingyne, bot as veil thai that herde hym daly var in grit admiratione. it is 22 the nature of ane man that hes ane quyk spreit, ande ane ripe ingyne, that everye purpos ande questione is familiar tyl hym. kyng anthiocus tuke grit gloir be Antlochus was cause he hed sic ane prudent philosophour in his cuntre: quhar for he inquirit annibal, quhat iugement he 27 hed of his philosophour phormion. Annibal ansuert but Hannibal vitht as hardy curage as quhen he venqueist the romans at the battel of cannes; for ane vailzeant prince tynis nocht his curage, quhou beit that aduerse fortune resist his felicite, bot rather hes gude hope that dame fortoune vil mittigat hyr auen crualte. this vas the ansuer 33 of annibal tyl anthiocus, in the presens of phormion: Nobil prince anthiocus,2 i hef seen mony ald men tyne

them, changed

ordering of

[\* leaf 12]

the very mirror of folly

who dared to treat of the theory of battles before him, who [\* leaf 12, back] had been so much in the practice.

God knows the difference between a battle on paper and one in the field!

between wielding a pen and a spear!

Your philosopher never saw

[\* leaf 13]

he never heard the charge sounded;

service:

thought Phormio ther vyt, bot i sau neuyr sa grite ane fule amang them al as is thy philosophour phormion, for he mave be callit 3 the mirrour of folye. ther can nocht be ane mair folye, and presumption; as quhen ane ydiot, distitute of knaulage, presumis to teche or to leyrne ane man that hes baytht speculatione ande experiens. i pray the to tel me (kyng anthiocus) quhat hart can thole, or quhat tong can be stil, quhen thai see, or heris tel, of the presumpteous consait of thy 9 vane philosophour, guhilk hes been neurest al his dais in ane solitar achademya of greice,1 ande 3it he dar be sa bold to present hym befor prince annibal, to disput ande tyl indoctryne the maneir of the veyris ande of the batellis, as he var prince of affrica, or captan of rome: for verite he hes ane smal iugement of sic maters, or 15 ellis he estemeis vs to be litil experementit in the

> veyris, be his vane consaitis that he hes studeit on beukis, he beleuis to leyrne annibal the prettik of the veyris, ande the conquessingis of realmis. o kyng anthiocus, al the goddis vait, quhat defferens is betuix phi-

losophie techit in sculis, ande betuix the stait of captans in the ordoring of batellis on the feildis; ande quhat defferens is to vrit vitht ane pen, & the vsing of ane speyr vailzeantly in battel; ande quhat defferens is ther 24 betuix mony beukis, ande ane captan heffand his enemye befor his ee. Ther is diverse men that can blason the veyris in the tauerne, or at the fyir syde, amang the vulgar ignorant pepil; bot i fynd nocht mony that dar has; arde ther lyue contrar ther enemeis. O anthiocus, thy philosophour phormion sau neuyr the iunyng of ane battel, vitht cruel escharmouschis in the ryding of for-31 rais: he sau neuyr the array of men of veyr brokyn, ande tua armeis myxt amang vthirs, fechtand be fellone forse, quhar the defluxione of blude 'hed payntit ande

cullourt all the feildis: he herd neuyr the dolorus

trompet sounde befor the iunyng of ane battel, nor git

1 gtelce

2 the the

he harde it neuvr sound to gar the men of veyr retere 1 fra ane dangeir: he persauit neuyr the trason of ane party, nor the couuardeis of ane vthir party: he sau neuvr the litil nummir of them that fechtis, nor the grite nummir of them that fleis for dreddour. O an- 5 thiocus, thy philosophour suld teche the thyng that he let him stick to hes studeit at the sculis, & the thing that he hees seen that he does witht his een, to them that was neugr at the sculis, ande to them that vas neuyr pretykkit in the veyris, rather nor til vs, that hes been experimentit in the veyris al 10 oure dais. the prettik of the veyris is mair facil to be leyrnit on the feildis of affrica, nor in the sculis of Thou vait, kyng anthiocus, that this sex ande thretty zeiris i hef beene excersit in the veyris, baytht in ytalie ande in spange, quhar that fortoune hes schauen 15 hyr rycht aduerse contrar me, as is hyr vse to do to them that vndirtakkis difficil entrepricis, as thou may I was a captain see be experiens; for or i hed ane beyrde, i vas seruit before I had a lyik ane captan, ande nou, quhen my beyrd is be 'cum [\*leaf 18, back] quhyt, i am be cum ane seruand. i sueir to the (kyng anthiocus) be the gode mars, that gyf ony persone vald 21 speir at me the maneir of the gouernyng of ane battel, yet I cannot i vait nocht quhat ansuere to mak, be raison that proper mode of battellis consistis vndir the gouernance of fortune, ande nocht in the ingyne of men, nor in the multiplie of pepil. all veyris ar begun be princis on ane just titil, 26 ande syne procedis be visdome; bot the ende of the which depends on veyris consistis in the chance of fortune. Ther for, it is grit folye to thy philosophour til vndirtak to levrn the ordiring of battellis witht in his solitair achademya: it var mair necessair ande honest for hym to vse his 31 auen professione ande faculte, nor to mel vitht ony faculte that passis his knaulage, annibal said mony Ne outer ultra vthir gude purposis tyl anthiocus, anent this samyn purpose, as plutarque rehersis in his apothigmatis.

This exempil tendis, that al prudent men hes 36

his philosophy,

expound the ordering a battle,

crepidam!

I had not been so rash as to make this tractate,

[\* leaf 14]

patriotism.

Pray excuse my rustic speech ! Nullus locus nobis dulcior esse debet patria. Cice, ad Marc. fami. 4. I have used no recherché terms, but domestic Scots language. Sermone, ec debemus vti, qui notus est nobis. Cio. offi. There have been

writers who were fond of mixing their vulgar tongue with Latin, and using longtailed words;

[\* leaf 14, back]

but such things proceed from valn conceit.

Yet I have been obliged

mair occasione to condamp & repreif this raggit navkyt 2 tracteit, nor annibal hed occasione to repreif the philosophour phormion; for my dul rude brane suld nocht hef been sa temerair as to vndirtak to correct the imperfectione of ane comont veil, be cause the maist part of 6 my knaulage is the smallest part of my ignorance: zit but for my ardent nochtheles i hope that vyise men vil reput my ignorance for ane mortifeit prudens, be rason of my gude intentione that procedis fra ane affective ardant fauoir that i hef euyr borne touart this affligit realme quhilk is my natiue cuntre. Nou heir i exort al philosophouris, historigraphours, & oratours of our scottis natione, to support & til excuse my barbir agrest termis: for i thocht it nocht necessair til hef fardit ande lardit this tracteit vitht exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht daly vsit, bot rather i hef vsit domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the vlgare pepil. ther hes bene diuerse translatours ande compilaris in ald tymys, that tuke grite pleseir to contrafait ther vlgare langage, mixand ther purposis vitht oncoutht exquisite termis, dreuyn, or rather to say mair formaly, reuyn, fra lating, ande sum of them tuke pleiseir to gar ane vord of ther purpose to be ful of sillabis half ane myle of lyntht, as ther was ane callit hermes, quhilk pat in his verkis thir lang tailit vordis, conturbabuntur, constantinopolitani, innumerabilibus, so'licitudinibus. .27 ther was ane vthir that vrit in his verkis, gaudet honorificabilitudinitatibus. al sic termis procedis of fantastiknes ande glorius consaitis, i hef red in ane beuk of ane preceptor that said til his discipulis, loquere verbis presentibus, & vtere moribus! 32 antiquis: that is to saye, thou sal speik comont langage, ande thou sal lyue eftir the verteous maneirs of. antiant men. 3it nochtheles ther is mony vordis of antiquite that i hef rehersit in this tracteit, the quhilkis

culd nocht be translatit in oure scottis langage, as to use some auguris, auspices, ides, questeours, senaturus, where Scote was censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vthir romane dictions: ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disusit nenta sunt, or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite vald be non que impedirent, sed confundit ande adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sum que indicatyme til myxt oure langage vitht part of termis dreuyn rent volunta-tem. fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa Cic. pro a. copeus as is the lateen tong, ande alse ther is diverse purposis & propositions that occurris in the lating There are phrases tong that can nocht 2 be translatit deuly in our accurately scottis langage: ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld nocht put reproche to the compilation, quhou beit that he fynd sum 'purposis translatit in scottis that accords nocht vitht the lateen regester: as ve hef exempil 15 of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme for idioms differ. homo signifeis baytht man ande voman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifeis baytht man ande Home and voman: ande animal signifeis al thyng that hes lyue exact equivalents. ande is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that 20 signifeis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione mulier est homo is treu, ande zit ve suld nocht saye that ane voman is ane man. Ande siclyik this propositione, homo est animal is treu, ande git ve suld nocht say that ane man is ane beyst. of this 25 sort ther is baytht termis ande propositions in lateen Non tam ea tong, the quhilk vil be difficil to translait them. i hef probantur, rehersit thir vordis, in hope to eschaipt the detractione quamque of inuyful gramariaris, quhilkis ar mair prompt to re-fastidiis adprehende ane smal falt, nor the ar to commend ane ver-herent. teouse act. Nou for conclusione of this prolog, i ex- Then, let me not ort the (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be small fault; cherite, ande til interpreit my intentione fauorablye, look favourably for doutles the motione of the compilatione of this intentions. tracteit procedis mair of the compassione that i hef of 35

classical terms deficient.

that cannot be translated,

[\* leaf 15]

Ci. de ora. be blamed for a

1 cope' 2 non the public necessite, nor it dois of presumptione or vane gloir. thy cheretabil corrections may be ane prouccations to gar me study mair attentiuly in the nyxt verkis that i intend to set furtht, the quhilk i belief in gode sal be verray necessair tyl al them that desiris to lyue verteously indurand the schort tyme of this ours fragil peregrinations, & sa fayr veil.

### THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

# The Forst Cheptobr declaris the cause of the Mutations of Monarches.

#### CHAP. I.

S the hie monarchis, lordschips, ande autoriteis, Rulers are set up ar stablit be the infinite diuyne ordinance, and providence. menteinit be the sempeternal prouidens, siclyik 3 ther ruuyne cummis be the sentence gyffin be the souerane consel of the diuyne sapiens, the quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie trone of ther imperial domina- 6 tions, and garris 'them fal in the deper fosse' of seruitude, ande fra magnificens in runyne, ande causis Regnum a conqueriours to be conquest, ande til obeye ther vmquhile gentous transubjectis be dreddour, quhome of be for that commandit insticias This decreit procedis4 of the diuyne vniuersos be autorite. iustice, be rason that princis ande vthirs of autorite dolos. Eccle. 10. becummis ambitius ande presumpteous, throught grite This is divine superfluite of veltht: ther for he dois chestee them be the abstractione of that superfluite: that is to say, he 15 possessis vthir pure pepil that knauis his gudnes, vitht the samyn reches that he hes tane fra them that hes arrogantly misknauen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane 18 masse of mettal diverse pottis of defferent fassons, & . 1 at

[\* leaf 16] gento in

4 procedia

The potter uses his clay as be will.

syne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai pleyse hym nocht, ande he makkis smal pottis of the brokyn verk 3 of the grite pottis, ande alse of the mettal ande mater of the smal pottis he formis grit pottis, this exempil may be applyit to the subjections ande mutations of 6 realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly prosperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis & incressis quhil thai be ascendit to the perfyit stryntht of men: bot ther

Men and nations grow and decay.

efter, tha begyn to decresse ande declinis til eild ande [\*leaf 16, back] to the dede. \*siklyik lordschips ande digniteis hes in-11 cressing, declinatione, ande exterminatione, the mutations of everye varldly thyng is certane, quhou beit

> that prosperus men prouidis nocht to resist the occasions of the mutabiliteis: quhilk occasions ar ay vigilant

> benefecis of gode, the mutations of monarchis ande

dominions, ar manifest in the holy scriptur, ande in the

verkis of the maist famous anciant historigraphours.

15 to suppedit & to spulze al them that ar ingrate of the This appears alike from the Scriptures and profane history.

Where is now

Nineveh P

where Babylon?

What has been the fate of Troy P

[\* leaf 17] of Thebes ?

quhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of nynyue, quhilk hed thre dais iournais of circuit? at 21 this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standant on ane vthir. Quhar is the grite tour of babilone? the quhilk vas biggit be ane maist ingenius artifeis, of proportione, quantite, ande of stryntht. it aperit to be perdurabil ande inuyncibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Quhat sal be said of the riche tryumphant toune of troye, ande of 28 castell ylione, quhilk hed al the portis of euoir bane, ande the pillaris of fyne siluyr? bot at this tyme ane fut of hicht of the vallis can nocht be sene, for al the grond of the palecis? of that tryumphand toune ande castel is over gane vitht gyrse ande vild scroggis.

What has become Quhar is the grite toune of thebes? quhilk vas foundit be cadmus the sone of agenoir, the quhilk vas at that 35 tyme the maist pepulus toune abuse the eird. it hed ane

1 prosper

hundretht tourettis ande portis, bot nou at this tyme 1 ther is no thyng quhar it stude bot barrane feildis. Siklyik lacedemonya, quhar the legislator ligurgus gef and of Sparta? to the pepil strait famous lauis, of the quhilk ane grit part ar vsit presently in the vniuersal varld, is nocht 5 that nobil toune extinct furtht of rememorance? Quhat sal be said of athenes, the vmquhile fontane of sapiens, What shall be ande the spring of philosophee: is it nocht in perpetual subuersione? Quhar is the toune 1 of cartage that dantit or of Carthage? the elephantis, ande vas grytumly doutit & dred be the romans? vas it nocht brynt in puldir ande asse? ande 11 nou the grond of it is pastour for bestial. quhat sal be said of the riche monarche of rome, quhilk dantit ande yen, even of subdeuit al the varld? is nocht nou the superiorite of it partit ande dividit in mony ande diverse partis, conformand to the vordis of lucan, quha said that the 16 vecht of rome suld gar it ryue in mony partis: the vecht of it signifeit nocht the vecht of hauy vallis, housis, stonis, ande vthir 'materials: bot rather it [ leaf 17, back] signifeit the vecht of the inexorbitant extorsions that it committit on the vniuersal varld, quhilk is the cause 21 that the monarche of it is dividit amang mony diverse princis. of this sort euere thyng has ane tyme, for Every worldly thing has its day. mutations of varldly felicite is ane natural habitude, quhilkis is the cause that na thyng remanis lang constant in ane prosperus stait: ande that is the special 26 cause that al dominions altris, dechaeis, ande cummis The fyrst monarche of the varld vas The empire of to subuersione. translatit fra the assiriens to them of perse, ande fra been successively perse to the greikis, and translatit fra the greikis to the Persians, Greeks, romans, fra the romans to the franche men, ande fra and Germans, the franche men to the germanis. ande quhou be it that Quis enim the pepil knauis thir mutations to be of verite, 3it ther cogitabit is nocht mony that knauis the cause of thir mutations, mini aut be rason that the iugement of gode (quhilk virkis al quis consithyng) is ane profound onknauen deipnes, the quhilk Sapion. 9.

Rome herself? the world has held by Assyrians, Romans, Franks,

liarius eius

The ways of God are inscrutable.

The ignorant impute it to [\* leaf 18] fortune, a pagan Idea. Intellegi quom omnium operum dei nullam possit homo invenire rationem corum que funt sub sole. Eccl. 8. Every thing is of the divine power. Si fortuna volet, fles de rethore consul: si volet. hoe oadom, fies de consule rethor innonal, Sati. 7. Ecol. wi. St Paul warned Timothy of a "time, when they will not bear sound doctrine, Isalah curses in fortune : "We to you who prepare a table to fortune as your goddess." [\* leaf 18, back] The ignorant have imputed our late defeat at Pinkey to fortune.

passis humaine ingyne to comprehende the grounde or limitis of it: be cause oure vit is ouer febil, oure ingyne 3 ouer harde, oure thochtis ouer vollage, ande oure zeiris ouer schort. Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis the subuersions ande mutations of prosperite to proceid of fortoune: sic consaitis procedis of the gentilite ande pagans doctryne, ande nocht of goddis lau, nor zit of moral philosophie: quhou be it that invenal hes said, that fortoune is the cause that ane smal man ascendis to digniteis, ande that are grite man fallis in ruuyne. Sic opinions suld nocht be haldin nor beleuit: for ther is no thing in this varld that cummis on mankynde as prosperite or adversite, bot al procedis fra the dyuyne pouer, as is vrityne in the xi. cheptour of ecclesiasticus, bona & mala, vita & mors, paupertas & honestas, a dec sunt. Ther for it maye be said, that al that imputis adversite or prosperite to proceid of fortune, thai maye be put in the nummyr of them that Sanct paul prophetizit in the sycond epistil to tymothic, crit enim tempus, cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, & ce. Ande alse the prophet esaye, spekend be the spreit of gode, he gyffis his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortoune those that believe hes ony pouner, quhar he vritis in the lxv. cheptour,1 ve qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dec.

This contradictions that i hef rehersit contrar fortoune, is be cause that mony ignorant perpil hes confermit ane ymaginet onfaythtful opinione in ther hede, sayand that the grite afflictione quhilk occurrit on oure realme in september m.v.xlvii. zeris, on the feildis besyde mussilburgh, hes procedit fra the maltalent of dame fortoune, the quhilk ymaginet opinione suld be 33 detestit; for fortune is no thyng bot ane vane consait ymaginet in the hartis of onfaythtful men. theles, guhen i remembir on the cruel dolourus distruc-

tione of oure nobil barrons, & of mony vthirs of the 1 thre estaitis, be cruel ande onmercyful slauthyr, ande alse be maist extreme violent spulsee ande hairschip of I have pondered ther mouabil gudis in grite quantite, ande alse oure ald calamities, enemeis, be traisonabil seditione, takkand violent possessione of ane part of the strynthis ande castellis of 6 the bordours of oure realme, ande alse remanent vitht in the plane mane landis far vitht in oure cuntre, ande violentlye possessand ane certan of our burghis, villagis ande castellis, to ther auen vse but contradictione; ande the remanent of the pepil beand lyik dantit 11 venqueist slauis in maist extreme vile subjectione. rather nor lyik prudent cristin pepil, quhilkis suld lyue in civilite, policie<sup>1</sup>, '& be iustice vndir the governance of ane christin prince. Al thir thingis considrit, causit and searched the me to reuolue diuerse beukis of the holy scriptur, & of to see whether humanite, in hope to get ane just jugement, quhiddir or judgment. that this dolorus<sup>2</sup> afflictione be ane vand of the fadir to 18 correct & chestie the sone be mercy, or gyf it be ane rigorus mercyles decreit of ane iuge, to exsecute on vs ane final exterminatione. than efftir lang conteneuatione of reding on diverse sortis of beukis, i red the xxviii. of I read Deuterdeutrono, the xxvi. of leuitic, & the thrid of ysaye, the Levisious xxvi. quhilk causit my trublit spreit to trymmyl for dreddour, ande my een to be cum obscure throughts the 25 multiplie of salt teyris, ande throught the lamentabil suspiring that procedit fra my dolorus hart, be rason that the sentens ande conteneu of thyr said cheptours of the bibil, gart me consaue, that the diuyne indigna- which filled me tione hed decretit ane extreme runyne on oure realme; dismay. bot gyf that we retere fra oure vice, ande alse to be cum 31 vigilant to seik haisty remeide & medycyne at hym guha gyffis al grace ande comfort to them that ar maist distitute of mennis supple.

[ leaf 19]

with trouble and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The original has only soli, the cie having fallen away and been erroneously added to end of leaf 20, which thus reads structe-his for structs.
<sup>2</sup> dolor
<sup>3</sup> throuth

[leaf 19, back]

# Thir cheptours that eftir follouis, explants the thretnyng ande menassing of Gode contrar obstinat, bicius pepil.

#### CAP. II.

Deuteronomy xxviii. (translation from the Vulgate). Quod si audire nolueris voce domini dei twi, venient super to omnes maledictiones, oris in civitate, maledictus. Dout. 28.

Quod si non audicritis me, ego quoque hec faciam vobis, visitabo vos velociter in egestate & ardore.
Loui. 26.

[\* leaf 20] Leviticus xxvi. (from the Vulgate).

T is vrityne in the xxviii. of deutronome, thir vordis: Gyf thou obeyis nocht the voce of the lorde thy L gode, ande kepis nocht his ordinance, thir maledictions sal cum on the: thou sal be cursit on the feildis. thou sal be cursit in the cite; the lord sal send maledictione ande tribulatione on al thy byssynes; the lord sal sende pestilens on the, the heyt feueir, droutht, the sourde, tempest, ande all euil seiknes, ande he sal persecut the, quhil he hef gart the perise: thou sal thole iniuris & spulze, ande ther sal be na man that can saue the: thou sal spouse ane vyfe, bot ane vthir sal tak hyr fra the be forse: thou sal big ane house, bot thou sal neuyr duel in it: thy ox sal be slane befor thy eene, & thou sal get nane of hym tyl eyt: thy flokkis of scheip sal be gyffin to thy enemeis; the oncoutht ande straynge pepil sal eyt the frute of the eyrd that thou hes lauborit. Leuic. xxvi. moyses sais, be the spreit of gode, gyf 3e obeye nocht my command, i sal visee 30u vitht dreddour, vitht fyir, 24 ande vitht suellieg: 3e sal sau the cornis on 3our feildis, bot zour enemeis sal eit it: zour enemeis sal be your masters, ande se sal flee fast for dreddour, quhen ther sal be litil dangeir, & there sal be no man follouuand 30u; ande gyf 3e remane obstinat ande vil nocht 29 be correckt, i sal strik 3ou vitht ane plag, seuyn tymes

1 go, degyf

mair vehement; for i sal gar the sourde cum on 20u to reuenge my alliance; ande quhen 3e ar assemblit togyddir vitht in 3our tounis, i sal send the pestilens 3 amang 30u, ande i sal delyuir 30u in the handis of 30ur Ecce enim enemeis.

It is writin in the thrid cheptor of esaye thir eroituum auvordis: behold the dominator ande the lorde of armis, foret a hicthe quhilk sal tak fra hierusalem ande fra juda, the juda validum mychty ande the sterk man, the victuelis, the men of fortom, iuveyr, the iugis, the precheours. i sal gyf them zong photom, childir to be ther kynges, ande effemenet men sal be Esaye 3. ther dominatours; ande the pepil ilk ane sal ryise con- the Vulgate). trar vthirs, ande ilk man sal be aduersair tyl his nycht- 13 bour: 30ng childir sal reproche ald men, ande mecanyc lauberaris sal reproche 'gentil men. Esave iii.

dominator dominus exrusalom & a

[ \* leaf 20, back ]

#### Actor.

#### CHAP. III.

HE kyng anchises lamentit the distructione of the Anchises, superb troy, exsecutit be the princis of greice: mish, David, the queene rosaria regrettit hir spouse kyng &c., have all had darius,2 quhen he vas venqueist be grite allexander: the prophet hieremye vepit for the stait of the public 20 veil of babillone, quhen it was brocht in captiuite: kyng dauid lamentit his sone absolon, quhen Ioab sleu hym: cleopatra vas lyike to dee in melancolie, quhen hyr loue marcus antonius vas venguest be the empriour agustus: the consule marcus marcellus regrettit hauyly 25 the cite of syracuse, quhen he beheld it birnand in ane bold fyir: Crisp salust regrettit the euyls gouernyng of the public veil of rome: the patriarche Iacob lamentit the absens of his sone Ioseph: the kyng demetrius 29

Cleopatra, &c. causes for regret;

1 effement

[\* leaf \$1]

I have as great, in the present calamities of my nation.

Yet I hope the rod is that of a father. Si in procoptis mois ambulauoritis, dabo vobis pluwias temporibus suis, & terra gignet germen suum dabo pacem in finibus vestris. Loui. 26. Moses holds out promises to all that repent.

[\*leaf 21, back] fal to the grond \*venquest in 30ur presens, sa that 3e 26 vil obeye to my command.

Regnum a
gente in gentem transit,
propter iniusticias & vniuersos dolos.
Ecole. 10.

I hope that we shall come to repentance.

1 regrettit hauvly the slauchtir of his fadir antigonus, at the battel of maraton: 30ng octouian lamentit hauyly the slauchtir of his fadir adoptive cesar, that gat xxii. straikis1 vitht pen knyuis in the capitol: thir nobil 5 personagis deplorit the calamiteis that occurrit in ther dais; bot i hef as grit cause to deploir the calamiteis that ringis presently witht in ouer realme, throught the vice of the pepil. & quhou beit that the thretnyng of 9 gode contrar vs be verray seueir ande extreme, zit nochtheles i hope that his auful scurge of aperand exterminatione sal change in ane faderly correctione, sa that ve vil knau his mageste, ande to retere fra ouer vice; for he has promest grace tyl al them that repentis, ande til al them that kepis his command, as is vrityn in the xxvi. cheptor of leuitic thir vordis as follouis: Gyf se keip my ordinance, i sal send sou rane on sour grond in convenient tyme; your feildis sal bryng furtht cornis; your treis sal bayr frute; ye sal eyt your breyde in suficiens; 3e sal sleipt at 3our eyse. i sal sende pace amang 30u, the sourde of vengeance sal nocht pas throught 3our cuntre; 3e sal follou 3our enemeis, ande 22 your sourdis sal gar them fal befor you; five of you sal follou & chaisse ane hundretht, & ane hundretht of 30u sal chaisse ten thousand; ande 30ur enemeis sal

TO quhat familiar promese is this that god hes promeist<sup>3</sup> tyl al them that vil obey til his command! quhar for gyf ve refuse this grit promes, i suspect that his iustice sal extinct oure generatione furtht of rememorance, ande that he vil permit our ald enemeis, or 32 sum vthir straynge natione, til ocupie & posses our natural native cuntre. bot 3it i hope in gode that our obstinatione sal altir in obediens, quhilk sal be occa-

<sup>1</sup> Original reads straigle-lie for strailtie, the cie having fallen away from end of leaf 18, leaving post for postele.
<sup>2</sup> prormeist

sione that five of vs sal chaise ane hundretht of our ald 1 enemeis, ande ane hundretht of vs sal chaisse ten thousand of them furtht of our cuntre, as is rehersit in the foir said xxvi cheptour of leuitic. for quhou be it that The English have god hes permittit the inglis men to scurge vs, as he permitted to permittit sathan to scurge the holy man Iob, it follouis Iob. ca. 2. nocht that god vil tyne vs perpetualye, nor git it follouis nocht that the cruel inglis men, quhilkis ar 8 boreaus ande hang men permittit be god to puneis vs, but it does not that thai ar in the fauoir of god, for the exsecutione of are in God's goddis punitione on vs, as i sal explane be ane exempil favour. of comparisone. ane boreau or hang 'man is permittit be ane prince to scurge ande to puneise transgressours. A public hangande ther efftir that samyn boreau is stikkit or hangit favourite; eftiruart for his cruel demeritis, as is the end of them 15 that settis ther felicite to skattir & to skail blude. Siklyike the cruel inglis men that hes scurgit vs, hes nocht dune it of manhede or visdome, nor of ane gude the English are 3eil: bot rather the supreme plasmator of hauyn ande pointed execueird hes permittit them to be boreaus, to puneis vs for the mysknaulage of his magestie. Quhar for i treist 21 that his divine justice vil permit sum vthir straynge I trust that they nations to be mercyles boreaus to them, ande til extinct turn from that false seid ande that incredule generatione furtht of another nation; rememorance, be cause thai ar, ande alse hes beene, the they have caused special motione of the iniust veyris that hes trublit Christendom for cristianite thir sex hundretht zeir by past. quha listis years past. to reide the prophesye of yeave, tha sal fynd ane 28 exempil conformand to this samyn purpos, quhou that the realme of the assiriens was the scurge of gode to The Assyrians puneise the pepil of israel for ther disobediens. bot fra judgment on tyme that the pepil of israel vas reterit fra ther vice, Israel; gode distroyit there scurge, that is to saye, he distroyt 33 assure 'the kyng of the assirriens, ande transportit his [ | leaf 22, back] realme in the subjectione of the kyng of perse ande meid. Siklivk the grite toune of babillon vas permittit

been divinely

so did Babyion, but both were punished afterwards,

One sinner is made to grind down another, as a file iron.

but it is for the sake of the iron, not of the file.

The father chastises his son for his good, not for the sake of the rod.

[\* leaf #8]

quhen the israelieteis var reterit fra ther inniquite, gode delyurit them fra the captiuite of babillon, ande dis-4 troyit that grite toune, ande maid it are desert inhabitabil for serpens ande vthir venesum 1 beystis. thing is corruppit be ane vthir corruppit complexione. ane file is ane instrument<sup>2</sup> to file doune yrn, ande ane synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuyne iustice to puneise ane vther synnar. the file that filit the yrne is 10 vorne ande cassin auaye as ane thing onutil to serue to do ony gude verk: bot the yrn that hes beene filit be the forgear or be ane smytht, is kepit to serue to the necessite of men. the father takkis the vand or the scurge to puneise his sonne that hes brokyn his com-15 mand, ande quhen his sonne becummis obedient, the father brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyir: bot git gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the corrections of the vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sum vthir sterk vappin to puneise his sonne, & forget tis fatherly 20 discipline, ande veis rigorus extreme punitione. ane ox that repungnis the brod of his hird, he gettis doubil

be gode to scurge the pepil of israel: ande ther efftir

Quhou the Actor conferris the passagis of the thriv's cheptour of Ysage bitht the afflictione of Scotland.

broddis, & he that misprisis the corrections of his preceptor, his corrections is changit in rigorus punitions.

#### CHAP. IIII.

Deute, 28.
We have suffered all the plagues threatened in Deuteronomy,

E maye persaue for certan, that we have bene scurgit witht al the plagis that ar befor rehersit in the xxviii cheptour of deuteronome, that is to

say, vitht pestelens, vitht the sourde, vitht brakkyng 1 doune of our duelling housis, vitht spulse of our cornis ande cattel.

Siclyik as it is befor rehersit in the xxvi of le- and in Levitions, uitic, we have sauen oure feildis to the behufe of oure enemeis, ve haue fled fast fra oure enemeis, 6 guhen ther was nocht mony of them perseuuand vs, ande alse ve maye persaue that ve haue beene scurgit vitht the plagis that ar contenit in the thrid cheptour [\*leaf 23, back] of esaye, quhilk sais that the lord sal tak auaye the Esaye, 3, c. mychty men & the sterk men fra hierusalem ande fra 11 iuda, that is to save, the lord hes tane fra vs oure We have lost our lordis ande barons ande mony vthir nobil men that vald have deffendit vs fra oure ald enemeis, the said cheptour sais that the lord sal tak the iugis ande the prechours. that passage of ysaye maye be veil applyit 16 tyl vs. for as to the iugis ande iustice that ringis pre- God send us sently in our cuntre, god maye sende vs bettir quhen and justices! he pleysis. ande as to the precheours, i reffer that to not to talk of the vniuersal auditur of oure realme. the foir said thrid Sardanacheptour sais, that the pepil of iherusalem ande iuda palus kyng ilk ane sal ryise contrar vthirs. that passage of the text olethic hym nedis nocht ane alligoric expositione, for the experiens in vemens of that passage is ouer manifest in oure cuntre. the span on ane said cheptour of esaye sais that effemmenet men sal roc. be superiors to iherusalem ande iuda. that passage is ouer euident in oure cuntre, for ther is maye of the We have many a sect of sardanapalus amang vs, nor ther is of scipions among us. or camillus. the foir said cheptour of esaye sais that the As for the calord sal gyf to iherusalem ande iuda 30ng kyngis to prince, gouverne them. that passage of esaye 'vald be veil considrit, ande nocht to be vndirstandin be the letteral taken literally, expositione, as diverse of the maist famous doctours of though our the kyrk hes rehersit: for quhou be it that oure 30ng an infant; illustir princis be ane tendir pupil, ande nocht entrit 35 in the aige of puberte, that follouis nocht that hyr

Iustine. li. 1.

lamity of a young

[\* leaf 24] that must not be

8 Reg. 12.
but, as shown by
the contrast of
Rehoboam
2. Para. 16
and Josiah,

Virtus quam etatis, cursus celerior. Cice. philip. 5.

as well as many instances in history,

[\* leaf 24, back] Ecolo. 10.

it refers to a fickle and discordant government,

not to a prince young in years.

2

1. Corin. 14.

Detractors may malign me,

and say that these portions of Scripture referred to Israel, and not to Scotland;

1 couthed is ane plage sende be god to scurge vs. for the southed of ane prince or of ane princesse is nocht the cause of the ruuyne of ane realme, nor git the perfyit 4 aige of ane prince is nocht the cause of the gude gouuernyng of ane public veil. Roboam kyng of israel beand fourty zeir of aige, he tynt ten tribis of his realmis throught misgouvernance that procedit of evil Ande in opposit, Osias vas bot aucht zeir of counsel. aige quhen he vas vnctit kyng, & quhou be it of his 3outhed, 3it he gouvernit veil the cuntre ande the public veil. ther for as the eloquent cicero sais, ve suld nocht leuk to the aige, nor to the 3outhed of ane per-13 son, bot rather to ther vertu. ve haue diverse uthir exemplis, quhou that realmis hes beene veil gouvernit quhen the princis var in tendir aige, as of spange ande flandris, quhen charlis elect empriour vas bot thre zeir of aige. ande quhou be it 'that Salomon hes said, cursit be the eird that hes ane 30ng prince, thai vordis ar to be vndirstandin of inconstant superiors of ane cuntre that ar nocht in ane accord to gouverne the public veil, 21 nor 3it hes ane constant substancial counsel to gouuerne ane realme quhen the prince or princes ar in ten-

dir aige, ther for, that terme southed suld be vndirstandin for ignorance & inconstance, ande nocht for 30ng of 3eiris, for euyre inconstant or ignorant person 26 is ave repute ande comparit to zong childir that hes na Sanct paul vritis to the corinthiens that discretione. var pepil in perfect aige, quod he, my bredir, be 3e nocht in 30ur vit lyik childir, bot 3e sal be of litil maleise, ande of profond knaulage. parchance sum inuyful detrakkers vil maling contrar me, sayand that i 32 suld nocht2 haue applyit nor conferrit8 the xxviii of deutero. nor the xxvi of Leuitic, nor the thrid of esaye, to the afflictione of oure cuntre, be rason that the contenu of thir for said cheptours var said to the pepil of s confetrit pson s uocht

israel, ande nocht to the pepil of scotland. thir detrak- they may may the kers maye saye as veil that the ten commandis var calogue and the gyffin to the pepil of Israel, ande nocht tyl cristin men, Paul's Epistles. ande sic 'lyik thai maye saye that the doctryne of the euangelistis is nocht to be kepit be cristin men. siclyik thai may save that the epistylis of paul suld be kepit be the romans, corrinthiens, epheseis, & be vthir na- scripta sunt tions that he writ to in his dais, ande nocht to be kepit be vs that professis vs to be cristin men. ande allegeance suld nocht haue audiens amang cristin pepil. for ther is no thyng said in the scriptour, bot it solationem is said generelye tyl al them that hes resauit the zoilk scripturarum ande the confessione of crist. Sanct paul vritis to the amus. romans, sayand, euyrye thing that is vritin in the scriptur is vrityn tyll oure edeficatione: thir vordis All Scripture is maye suffice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful stren for our mayer suffice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful strength. calumniaturis ande of secret detrackers.

same of the De-Evangel, or of

[\* leaf 25] Such remarks are unworthy of Christians. Quecunque ad nostram doctrinam Sic opinions scripta sunt: vt per patientiam & conspem habe-Rom. 15.

Of divers opinions' that the pagan philoso: phours held of the conditions ande induring of the barlo, ande quhou the actor declaris that the barld is neir ane ende.

#### CHAP. V.

HE special cause of the scurge that hes affligit vs, hes procedit of our disobediens contrar the command of god. Ande the cause of our disobediens disobedience hes procedit of ane varidly affectione ande cupidite that ve have towart the vile corruptione of this varld that bis amices the scriptour callis mammon, quhilk ve hald for ane

[leaf 25, back] The chief cause of our afflictions has been our to God, Facite vode mammona iniquitatis. Luce. 16.

1 opinious

and our worship of mammon.

Non potestis deo servire et mammone. Mat. 6. oa. nothing but the world is lasting,

and value temporal good above eternal well-being.

[\* leaf 26]

Many speak of the world, and know not what it is. The pagan phi-losophers lost much time in speculating on this question.

Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, &c., tried to describe the origin of the world

Pythagoras distinguished between the world and the universe; Thales and Metrodorus differed as to the plurality of worlds;

1 tormentir

souerane felicite, bot nochtheles it is bot ane corrupit poison, in sa far as ve can nocht serue gode ande it to gyddir, as Sanct mathou hes said, ze may nocht serue god ande mammon. Ther is ane vthir cause that makkis vs disobedient, mony of us beleuis in our consait that Many believe that ther is na thyng perdurabil bot the varld alanerly, sic abusione procedis of onfaythtfulnes ande of oure blynd affectione, quhilk makkis vs sa brutal, that ve vait 9 nocht quhat thing the varld is, nor quhou lang it sal indure, bot rather ve beleue that it sal be perpetual. ther for oure cupidite constrenceis vs to desire prolongatione of oure dais, that we maye vse the blynd sensual felicite of it, quhilk mony of vs thynkis mair comodius ande necessair for our veilfayr, nor ve thynk of the sem peternal olimp. Bot vald ve considir the diffini-16 tione of the varld, than i beleue that oure solistnes ande vane opinione vald altir in ane faythtful consait. Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & git that vait nocht quhat thing is the varld. the pagan philosophours held mony vane opinions, & tynt mekil tyme in vane questions & speculations, ande hes tormentit! the[r] spreitis, drauand & compiland mony beukis, quhilkis 23 ar set furtht in diverse cuntreis: bot git ther was neuvr ane final accordance concludit amang them: 2 for of the final verite that thai socht, thai gat litil, ande the ignorance that thai have put in vrit, is verray mekil, be rason that the smallest part of ther ignorance in super-28 natural cacis, excedit the maist part of ther knaulage. Plato, aristotel, pithagoras, empedocles, epecurius, thales, & mony vthir of the pagan philosophours, hes hed grite defferens ande contentione to paynt ande discriue the origyne ande propriete of the varld. goras said, that the varld is ane thing, & it that ve cal vniuersal is ane vthir thyng, the philosophour thales said that ther is bot ane varld.8 the astrologien metro-

s chem

s vardl

dore affermit that ther is mony & infinit varldis. se- 1 \*leucus the philosophour said that the varld is eternal. [\*leaf 26, back] Plato said that the varld hed ane begynnyng, ande sal Plato as to its haue ane end. epicurius said that the varld is ronde Epicurus and lyik ane boule, & empedocles said that the varld is lang to its shape. & ronde lyik ane eg. Socrates techit in his achademya, socrates taught sayand, that eftir seuyn ande thretty thousand zeiris, should repeat al thingis sal retourne to that sammyn stait as thai \$7,000 years; began, ande he to be borne agane in his mother 9 voymbe, ande to be neurist til his aige, ande sal teche philosophie<sup>3</sup> in athenes. dionisius sal exsecute his ald Dionysius, Casear, tirranye in siracuse. Iulius cesar sal be lord of rome, &c., play their ande annibal sal conques ytalie. scipio sal put cartage parts over again. to sac ande to the sourde, ande grit Allexander sal 14 vengues kyng darius. of this sort, al thingis that ar by past sal returne agane to there fyrst stait. My purpos I don't mean to is nocht to speik of this material varld that is maid of material world, the four elementis, of the eird, the vattir, the ayr, ande 18 the fyir: bot rather i vil speik of the varld that garris but of the world vs mysknau gode, ande [be] disobedient tyl his command, quhen the creator of al thingis cam in this varld to redeme vs fra the eternal captivite of sathan, he 22 complenit ande repreuit the varld, bot git 'he repreuit nocht the eird, the vattir, the ayr, nor the fyir, for thai foure elementis brac nocht his command. i haue 4 herd I have beard divers pepil regret, maling, ande mak exclamations con- world, calling it trar the varld, sayand, o false varld! o miserabil varld! &c., o dissaitful varld! o inconstant varld! o malicius 28 varld! ande 3it thai kneu nocht quhat thing is the varld. eftir my purpos, that varld that the pepil ma- cism est lingnis, is nocht ane substancial material mas, maid of mundi: nunc eird, vattir, ayr, & fyir, bot rather it is the euyl lyfe of huius mundi. the pepil that conversis viciuslye, ande the prince of Iohan. 12. this last varid is the deuyl, the quhilk sal be cassin the evil life of the furtht, as is rehersit in the euangel of Sanct ihone. 35

Seleucus and that all things Scipio, Alexander,

in its theological

[\* leaf 27]

when they meant

selencus 2 vardl <sup>3</sup> philhsophie 4 hane 5 vard COMPLAYNT.

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This world is not composed of the four elements,

but of seven elements (the seven cardinal sins).

Alas! they superabound in our afflicted realm.

[\* leaf 27, back]

Cumque me oonwert issem ad vniuersa opera que fecerent manus mee ridi in omnibus ranitatem & afflictionem. animi. Eccle. 2. c. We are ready enough to seek remedy against material ills, as hurt, heat, wearlness, wet, thirst, plague;

but not against moral diseases. avarice, luxury, anger, arrogance, cupidity.

[\* leaf 28]

this varld is nocht formit of the fouer elementis, as of eird, vattir, ayr, ande fyir, as gode creat the material varld in the begynnyng, bot rather it is creat of seuyn elementis of sathans creatione, that is to saye, auereise, ambitione, luxure, crualte, dissait, onfaythtfulnes, dis-6 simulatione, & insaciabil cupidite. allace! al thir seuyn elementis that this last varld is creat of, ar' ouer abundand vitht in oure affligit realme, quhilk is the cause of the calamite that it induris. bot var ve as solist to considir the vani te of this last varld as Salomon considrit it, than doutles ve vald be verray solist to resist the invasions of it, quhilk prouokis vs to vice: or var ve as solist til impung the occasione of syn, as ve ar solist to seik remeid contrar the exterior accidentia that oft occurris til hurt oure body, than doutles our sensual cupidite vald be cum mortefeit ande venqueist. Oft tymys ve seik remeide to keip vs fra euyl accidentis that hurtis oure body, as, quhen the sune castis oure grite heyt, we pas vndir the vmbre or the schaddou: quhen ve ar tirit to gang on oure feit, ve ar solist to seik horse to ryde : quhen the rane cummis, ve pas 22 vndir the thak, or vthir connert place: quhen ve ar thirsty,2 ve seik drynk: guhen the plag of pestilens occurris, ve ar solist to seik ane cleene duelling place vndir and temperat climat. Bot in opposit, quhen auereise assailzeis vs. ve seik nocht the vertu of liberalite, nor quhen vile luxure trublis vs, ve adhere 28 nocht to the vertu of temperance ande contenens: quhen ire affligis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of patiens: quhen arrogans ande ambitione entris in our hartis, ve seik nocht the vertu of humilite. ande nou, be cause that ve seik na remeid contrar our disordinat cupidite,

33 nor git resistis the occasions ande temptations of the prouocations of vice, ve becum haistylye venqueist, be rason that oure smal resistance generis grit hardynes in

the adverse party of oure saul, ther is ane mair odius worse than that, thing amang vs; for al the vicis that oure cupidite prouokis vs to commit, our blynd affectione garris vs be- vices to be leue that the ar supreme vertu ande felicite, be cause thai ar pleisand tyl oure fragil nature; the quhilk is they are pleasing the principal occasione that ve converse sa viciusle, as this miserabil sensual lyif var perpetual, ande as the 7 dede hed na pouver to sla oure bodeis, & as there var Iam viunt nocht ane hel to torment oure saulis, bot as ther var homines tanane fenget hel of the poietis fictions, as virgil hes set nulla sequafurtht in the sext beuk of his eneados. Bot, as i hef tur f velut infernus fabula befor rehersit, i suspect that there is ouer mony that ficta foret. beleuis in the opinione of Socrates, that is to saye, that the world to last the varld sal indure seuyn ande thretty1 thousand 57,000 years: geiris. bot admittand, vndir p[r]otestatione, that Socrates though it were opinione var of verite, 3it socrates hes nocht said that duration of the terme of oure lyue dais sal pas the course of nature, any longer? that is to saye, to pas the course of ane hundretht zeir. 18 've haue experiens daly, that quhar ane man lyuis ane [\*leaf 25, back] hundretht zeir in ony cuntre, ane hundretht lyuis nocht ane hundretht monetht. Nou, to confound the But I will disopinione of Socrates, ande to confound al them that vil nocht beleue that the varld is neir ane final ende, i vil 23 arme me vitht the croniklis of master ihone carion, John Carlon quhar he allegis the prophesye of helie, sayand, that phecy of Elias, to fra the begynnyng of the varld, on to the consumma- whole duration tione of it, sal be the space of sex thousand zeir. the shall be only quhilk sex thousand zeir sal be deuydit in thre partis. 6000 years, divided into three the fyrst tua thousand zeir, the varld sal be witht out dispensations. ony specefeit lau in vrit, quhilk vas the tyme betuix 30 adam ande abraham. the nyxt tua thousand zeir vas the lau of circoncisione, vitht ane institutione of diuyne policie, ande vitht adoratione of god, quhilk vas the tyme betuix Abraham ande the incarnatione, quhen crist ihūs resauit our humanite for our redemptione. 35

our moral blindbelieve these

to our frail nature.

quam mors

human life be

quotes the proof the world

The last two thousand shall he rtened for the s' sake, [ \* leaf 29]

as written by Saint Matthew.

mear an end;

most of the signs are already past,

1548 of the last two thousand years are past;

the remaining 452 shall be shortened;

the exact date is not fixed

[\* leaf 29, back]

Therefore, detest the world. which is so near an end.

1 the thrid tua thousand zeir sal be betuix the incarnatione & the last aduent, quhilk sal be the consummatione of the varld. bot thir last tua thousand zeir (as master ihone carion allegis in the prophesye of helie) sal nocht be completit, be rason 'that the daye 6 of iugement sal be antecipet, be cause of them that ar his electis, as is vrityn in the xxiiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, & nisi breuiati fuissent dies illi, non fieret salua omnis caro: sed propter electos breuiabuntur dies illi. quha listis to reide al the 11 xxiiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, tha sal persaue eui-The world is very dently that the varid is verray neir ane ende, be rason that mony of the singis & taikkyns that precedis the daye of iugement, that ar expremit in the foirsaid cheptour, ar by past, & the remanent ar nou presently in oure dais: ther for, efftir the supputatione of helie, as 17 mastir ihone carion hes rehersit, the varld hes bot four hundretht fyfty tua zeir tyl indure, be cause that ther is fiue hundrethe fourty aucht zeir by past of the foir said sex thousand zeir; bot eftir the vordis of Sanct mathou, the consummatione of the varld sal be haistiar nor foure hundretht fyftye & tua 3eir; 3it god hes 23 nocht affixt ane certan daye to fal vitht in the said terme of iiii. c. lii zeir, as is rehersit in Sanct mathou, de die autem illa & hora, nemo scit neque angeli celorum, nisi solus pater. ther for ve haue mistir 27 to be vigilant ande reddy, sen the terme of cristis cumming is schort, ande 'the day oncertane, as is said in the foir said euangel. vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dominus vester venturus sit. this veil considrit, maye be ane probabil rason that the varld is

neir ane ende, quhilk suld be occasione til haue it in

detestatione, ande til haue premeditatione of the future 34 eternal beatitude & felicite, that gode hes promeist til

al them that haldis it in abhominatione.

## Ane Monolog of the Actor.

#### CHAP. VI.

HE solist ande attentiue laubirs that i tuke to vrit The labour of thir passagis befor rehersit, gart al my body be cum writing the imbecille ande verye, ande my spreit be cum sopit author. in sadnes, throught the lang conteneuatione of studie, quhilk did fatigat my rason, ande gart al my membris 5 be cum impotent. than, til eschaip the eugl accidentis To avoid the evil that succedis fra the onnatural dais sleip, as caterris, by day, hede verkis, ande indegestione, i thocht it necessair til he thought he excerse me vitht sum actyue recreatione, to hald myspretis active recreation. valkand fra dul'nes. than, to exsecute this purpose, i past to the greene hoilsum feildis, situat maist comodi- He walked out to usly fra distemprit ayr ande corruppit infectione, to resaue the sueit fragrant smel of tendir gyrssis, ande of 13 hoilsum balmy flouris maist odoreferant. besyde the fut to the foot of a of ane litil montane, there ran ane fresche reueir as cleir was a stream, as berial, quhar i beheld the pretty fische vantounly abounding in stertland vitht there rede vermeil fynnis, ande there skalis lyik the brycht siluyr. on the tothir syde of that 18 reueir, there was ane grene banc ful of rammel grene overhung by a treis, quhar there was mony smal birdis hoppand fra melodious with busk to tuist, singand melodius reportis of natural music the songs of birds, in accordis of mesure of diapason prolations, tripla ande dyatesseron. that hauynly ermonyie aperit to be artificial 23 music. in this glaidful recreatione i conteneuit quhil amid these phebus vas discendit vndir the vest northt vest oblique till sunset, oriszone, quhilk vas entrit that samyn daye in the xxv. degre of the sing of gemini, distant fiue degreis fra oure symmyr solstice, callit the borial tropic of cancer, the 28 quhilk, be astrolog supputatione, accordis with the sext (it was the 6th daye of iune. there eftir i entrit in ane grene forrest, to of June), and then entered contempil the tendir 30ng \*frutes 1 of grene treis, be [\*leaf 30, back]

effects of sleeping would take some

hill where there

scenes he lingered

where he walked to and fro, the greater part of the night.

Iamque rubescebat stellis aurora fugatis.

Enco 2.
He saw the first break of dawn in the N.N.E.,

at which the stars grew pale,

and Diana, the "lantern of the night," waxed dim.

The misty exhalations vanished;

the green fields drank up the [\* leaf 31] dew.

Birds and beasts began their din,

making the welkin ring with their various noises.

Methamorpho. 3.

To tell of the beasts and fowls, there were

cause the borial blastis of the thre borouing dais of marche hed chaissit the fragrant flureise of euyrie frute tree far athourt the feildis. of this sort i did spaceir vp ande doune but sleipe, the maist part of the myrk nycht. instantly there eftir i persauit the messengeiris of the rede aurora, quhilkis throught the mychtis of titan 1 hed persit the crepusculyne lyne matutine of the northt northt est orizone, quhilk vas occasione that the 9 sternis & planetis, the dominotours of the nycht, absentit them, ande durst nocht be sene in oure hemispere, for dreddour of his auful goldin face. fayr dyana, the lantern of the nycht, be cam dym ande pail, quhen titan hed extinct the lycht of hyr lamp on the cleir daye, for fra tyme that his lustrant beymis var 15 eleuat iiii. degres abufe oure oblique oriszone, euery planeit of oure hemespeir be cam obscure, ande als al corrupit humiditeis, ande caliginus fumis & infekkit vapours, that hed bene generit in the sycond regione of the avr guhen titan vas visiand antepodos, thai consumit 20 for sorrou quhen thai sau ane sycht of his goldin scheaip. the grene feildis, for grite droutht, drank vp the drops of the 'fresche deu, quhilk of befor hed maid dikis & dailis verray donc, there eftir i herd the rumour of rammasche foulis ande of beystis that maid grite beir, quhilk past besyde burnis & boggis on grene bankis to 26 seik ther sustentatione, there brutal sound did redond to the hie skyis, quhil the depe hou cauernis of cleuchis & rotche craggis ansuert vitht ane hie not, of that samyn sound as thay beystis hed blauen. it aperit be presumyng & presuposing, that blaberand eccho hed beene hid in ane hou hole, cryand hyr half ansueir, quhen narcis-32 sus rycht sorye socht for his saruandis, quhen he vas in ane forrest, far fra ony? folkis, & there eftir for loue of eccho he drounit in ane drau vel. nou to tel treutht of the beystis that maid sic beir, & of the dyn that the

foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance 1 nor tune. for fyrst furtht on the fresche feildis, the nolt the nest-cattle, maid noyis witht mony loud lou. baytht horse & meyris horses and marca, did fast nee, & the folis nechyr. the bullis began to bulls, sheep, bullir, guhen the scheip began to blait, be cause the 5 calfis began tyl mo, quhen the doggis berkit, than the calves and dogs, suyne began to quhryne quhen thai herd the asse rair, 1 swine, the ass, quhilk gart the hemnis 'kekkyl quhen the cokis creu. [\*leaf \$1, back] the chekyns began to peu quhen the gled quhissillit, fowls and the fox follouit the fed geise, & gart them cry claik, the kite, gayslingis cryit quhilk quhilk, & the dukis cryit quaik. goslings, and the ropeen of the rauynis gart the crans crope, the ravens, cranes, huddit crauis cryit varrok varrok, quhen the suannis hooded crows, murnit, be cause the gray goul mau pronosticat ane the grey gall storme. the turtil began for to greit, quhen the cuschet and cushat-dove, qualit. the titlene follouit the goilk, ande gart hyr sing sparrow and guk guk. the dou croutit hyr sad sang that soundit lyik the dove, sorrou. robeen and the litil vran var hamely in vyntir. robin and the the iargolyne of the suallou gart the iay iangil. than the swallow and the maueis maid myrtht, for to mok the merle. the lauerok and blackbird, maid melody vp hie in the skyis.2 the nychtingal al nightingale, the nycht sang sucit notis. the tuechitis cryit theuis magnica, nek, quhen the piettis clattrit. the garruling of the stir- the sparrow, lene gart the sparrou cheip. the lyntquhit sang cuntir- the linnet and point quhen the oszil zelpit. the grene serene sang the greenfinch sueit, quhen the gold spynk chantit. the rede schank the redshank and cryit my fut my fut, & the oxee cryit tueit. the herrons the herons and gaif ane vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, quhilk gart the quhapis for fleyitnes fle far fra hame. Than 29 eftir quhen this dyn vas dune, i dreu me doune (\* leaf o (52), the throught mony grene dail; i beand sopit in sadnes, i \*\*\* tofth unsocht neir to the see syde. than vndir ane hingand author next proheuch, i herd mony hurlis of stannirs & stanis that coeded to the tumlit doune witht the land rusche, quhilk maid ane 34 felloune sound, throcht virkyng of the suelland vallis of

chickens, the the fox, geese, ducks; maw, the turtle the hedgejay, the thrush the lark and the the lapwings and the starling and ox-eye tom-tit, the curlews.

food be new a for war.

1 the brym seye, than i sat downe to see the flouring of Gesting across the the fame. quhar that i leukyt far furtht on the salt gallasse accounted flude, there i beheld ane gallasse gayly grathit for the

What happened on board;

veyr, lyand fast at ane ankir, and hyr salis in hou, i 5 herd mony vordis among the marynalis, bot i vist nocht quhat thai menit. 3it is al reherse and report ther crying and ther cal. in the fyrst, the master of the galiasse gart the botis man pas vp to the top, to leuk far furtht gyf he culd see ony schips. than the botis man leukyt 10 sa lang quhil that he sau ane quhyt sail. than he cryit vitht ane skyrl, quod he, i see ane grit schip. than the maister quhislit, and bald the marynalis lay the cabil to the cabilstok, to veynde and veye. than the marynalis

began to veynd the cabil, witht mony loud cry. ande as

ane cryit, al the laif cryit in that samyn tune, as it hed

gentil gallandis, gentil gallandis. veynde i see hym, veynd

i see hym. pourbossa, pourbossa, hail al ande ane, hail al and ane. hail hym vp til vs, hail hym vp til vs.

cryit, and al the laif follouit in that sam tune, caupon caupona, caupon caupona. caupun hola, caupun hola. caupun holt, caupon holt, sarrabossa, sarrabossa, than

thai maid fast the schank of the ankyr. And the maistir

a sail descried,

the anchor weighed.

kept time.

[\*leaf 0 (25), beak] cryit \*thir vordis as eftir follouis. veyra veyra, veyra veyra. The words to

16 bene ecco in ane hou heuch. and as it aperit to me, thai which the saliors

21 quhen the ankyr vas halit vp abufe the vattir, ane marynel

The pails unfurled.

26 quhislit and cryit, tua men abufe to the foir ra, cut the raibandis, and lat the foir sail fal, hail doune the steir burde lufe harde a burde. hail oftir the foir sail scheit, hail out the bollene. than the master quhislit ande cryit, , tua men abufe to the mane ra, cut the raibandis, and lat 31 the mane sail and top sail fal, hail doune the lufe close aburde, hail eftir the mane sail scheit, hail out the mane sail boulene. than ane of the marynalis began to hail and to cry, and al the marynalis ansuert of that samyn sound.

hou hou. pulpela pulpela. boulena boulena. darta darta. hard out steif, hard out steif. afoir the vynd, afoir the

The sailors again keep time to words.

vynd. god send, god send, fayr vedthir, 'fayr vedthir. mony pricis, mony pricis. god foir lend, god foir lend. 2 stou, stou. mak fast & belay. Than the master cryit, and bald renge ane bonet, vire the trossis, nou heise. than the marynalis began to heis vp the sail, cryand, The unfurling of heisau. heisau. vorsa, vorsa. vou, vou. ane lang draucht, continued. ane lang draucht. mair maucht, mair maucht. 30ng blude, 7 30ng blude, mair mude, mair mude, false flasche, false flasche. ly a bak, ly a bak. lang suak, lang suak. that that, that that, thair thair, thair thair, sallou havr, allou hayr. hips bayr, hips bayr. til hym al, til hym al. viddefullis al, viddefuls al. grit and smal, grit and 12 smal. ane and al, ane and al. heisau, heisau, nou mak fast the theyrs. Than the master cryit, top your topinellis, hail on your top sail scheitis, vire your liftaris and your top sail trossis, & heise the top sail hiear, hail out the top sail boulene, heise the myszen, 17 and change it ouer to leuart. hail the linche and the scheitis, hail the trosse to the ra. than the master cryit on the rudir man, mait keip ful and by, a luf. cumna hiear. holabar, arryua. steir clene vp the helme, this and so. than guhen the schip vas taiklit, the master 22 cryit, boy to the top. schaik out the flag on the top The flag hoisted. mast. tak in your top salis, 'and thirl them. pul doune [\*leaf0(33), back] the nok of the ra in daggar vyise. marynalis, stand be 30ur geyr in taiklene of 30ur salis. euery quartar master 26 til his auen quartar. boitis man, bayr stanis & lyme They prepare for pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top, and paueis veil the top vitht pauesis and mantillis. naris, cum heir & stand by your artail;ee, euyrie gunnar til his auen quartar. mak reddy zour cannons, culuerene 31 moyens, culuerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saikyrs, and half falcons, slangis, & half slangis, quartar slangis, hede stikkis, murdresaris, pasuolans, bersis, The artillery doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of croche, half haggis, readiness.

[\* leaf 0 (33)]

1 begam 2 Or listarie / the letter is indistinct. The galiance bears down on the ship,

1 culuerenis, ande hail schot. ande 3e soldartis & conpanggons of veyr, mak reddy gour corsbollis, hand bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lancis, pikkis, halbardis, rondellis, tua handit sourdis and tairgis. than this gaye galliasse, beand in gude ordour, sche follouit fast the samyn schip that the botis man hed sene, and for mair 7 speid the galliasse pat furtht hir stoytene salis, ande ane hundretht aris on energe syde. the master gart al his marynalis & men of veyr hald them quiet at rest, be rason that the mouyng of the pepil witht in ane schip, stoppis hyr of 'hyr faird, of this sort the said galiasse

[\* leaf 0 (34)]

and engages her.

12 in schort tyme cam on vynduart of the tothir schip. than eftir that thai hed hailsit vthirs, thai maid them reddy for battel. than quhar i sat i hard the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus crak duf, duf, duf, duf, duf, duf. the barsis and falcons cryit tirduf, tirduf, tir-

A description of the firing.

The author returned to the fresh fields,

and saw the shepherds taking out their flocks.

Their breakfast was brought out to them by their wives and children:

they sat down on a bed of rushes [\* leaf 0 (34), back] and meadwort. kinds of milk, curds.

17 duf, tirduf, tirduf, than the smal artailse cryit, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak. the reik, smeuk, and the stink of the gun puldir, fylit al the ayr maist lyik as plutois paleis hed been birnand in ane bald fyir, quhilk generit sik mirknes & myst that i culd nocht see my lyntht about me. quhar for i rais and returnit to the fresche feildis that i cam fra, quhar i beheld mony 24 hudit hirdis blauuand ther buc hornis and ther corne pipis, calland and convoyand mony fat floc to be fed on the feildis. than the scheiphirdis pat there scheip on bankis and brais, and on dry hillis, to get ther pastour. than i beheld the scheiphirdis vyuis and ther childir that brocht there mornyng bracfast to the scheiphirdis. than the scheiphyrdis vyuis cuttit raschis and seggis, 31 and gadrit mony fragrant grene meduart, vitht the quhilkis tha couurit the end of ane leve rig, & syne sat doune al to gyddir to tak there referctione, quhar thai and partook of all maid grit cheir of euyrie 1 sort of mylk, baytht of ky mylk & 30ue mylk, sueit mylk and sour mylk, curdis

and quhaye, sourkittis, fresche buttir ande salt buttir, whey, butter, reyme, flot quhaye, grene cheis, kyrn mylk. euyrie cheese: scheiphird hed ane horne spune in the lug of there 3 bonet: thai hed na breyd bot ry caikis and fustean their bread was skonnis maid of flour. than eftir there disiune, tha be- scones; gan to talk of grit myrrynes that was rycht plesand to then followed be hard. in the fyrst, the prencipal scheiphirde maid and the chief ane orisone tyl al the laif of his conpangions as eftir an oration. follonis.

¶ O 3e my frendis that ar scheiphirdis, ve hef grit cause to gyf thankis to god for the hie stait and dignite He pointed out that he hes promouit vs to posses, the quality stait prefferris al vthir faculte of this varld, baytht in honour and in profeit. for sen the varld vas creat, scheiphirdis 14 prefferrit al vthir staitis. quhar for the maist anciant nobilis that hes bene in ald tymis, tha detestit vrbanite, and desirit to lyue in villagis and landuart 1 tounis to be quoting the scheiphirdis, or to laubir rustic ocupation on the hoilsum feildis, as diverse historigraphours hes maid men- 19 tione. for in ald tymis pastoral and rustical 'ocupatione vas of ane excellent reputatione, for in thai dais quhen the goldin varld rang, kyngis and princis tuke mair and the manners delyit on the feildis and forrestis to keip bestialite and to manure corne landis, nor thai did to remane in pre- etting also the toral palecis or in tryumphand citeis. riche kyng amph- Amphion, ion vas verray solist to keip his scheip, and at euyn? quhen thai past to there faldis, scheip cottis and ludgens, he playt befor them on his harpe. Siklyik 28 kyng dauid hed mair affectione to play on his harpe King David, amang his flokkis of scheip, nor he hed to be gouvernour of the pepil of Israel. ande appollo, that the Apollo, poietis callis the god of sapiens, he vas scheiphird to keip kyng admetus scheip. siklyik the nobil romans in 33 ald tymis var nocht eschamit to laubir and to manure the baran feildis vitht there auen handis, to gar the

Ive-cakes and mirth and glee, shepherd made

the excellence of

of the golden age :

examples of

Ande alse

1 eird becum fertil to bayr al sortis of corne, eirbis, gyrse & spice, as ve hef exempil of the prudent quintus cincinatus, quha vas chosyn be the senat to be dictatur Cincinnatus, of rome, at that samyn tyme he vas arand the land 5 with this auen hand at the pleuch, siklyik the sapient porcus cathon censor of rome vas verray solist on the Porcius Cato, Romulus. art of agreculture. Siklyik romulus the fyrst kyng of [\* leaf 0 (35), back] ro'me set his hail felicite on the manuring of the feildis. ande alse the tua vailgeant romans, fabricius and curius Fabricius, &c. 10 dentatus, var nocht eschamit til excerse them on the Numa Pompilius, culture of the feildis. Siklyik numa pompilius, that deuot kyng of rome, statut that the senaturis of rome suld keip there scheip, as is rehersit in ane verse that i 14 hef red of ane senatur, pascebatque suas ipse senator oues. Siklyik paris the thrid soune of kyng Priam of Paris son of Priam. troy vas ane scheiphird, and kepit bestialite on montht ydea. And alse the nobil Scipio, quhilk vas vailgeant ande no les prudent, he conqueist affrica, and pat cart-19 age to sac, and subdeuit numance, and venqueist Annibal, and restorit the liberte of rome. than in his aige of lij zeir, he left the toune of rome, ande past to remane the residu of his dais in ane landuart village betuix pezole & capue in ytalie, and there he set his 24 felicite on the manuring of the corne land, & in the Lucullus, keping of bestialite. Ande also lucullus, that prudent consul of rome, quha hed conqueist diverse battellis contrar the parthiens, than in his last dais he left the toune of rome, and past to duel in ane village besyde 29 naples, quhar that he excersit hym on rustic occupatione ande on be stialite. Siklyik the nobil Empriour [\* leaf 0 (36)] Diocletian, dioclesian, eftir that he hed gouvernit the empire xviij zeir, he left the tryumphand toune of rome, & past til ane village be syde florens, and ther he vsit the laubor-

> the prudent duc perecles, quha hed the gouverning of the comont veil of athenes xxxvj 3ciris, 3it in his aige

34 ing of the cornis and vynis, & on bestialite.

and Perioles, the prudent due perceles, quha hed the go

of lx zeiris, he left the glorius stait of athenes, & past 1 to remane in ane litil village quhar he set his felicite to keip nolt and scheip, quhat sal be said of the patriarchis Abraam, Isaac & Iacob, and of the princis & prophetis Abraham, Isaac, of Israel ? var thai nocht hirdis & scheiphirdis ? for ther were they not all prencipal vacatione vas on the neuresing of bestialite. Ther for (O 3e my compansons, scheiphirdis and hirdis) 7 ve hef grit cause to gloir and to gyf thankis to god for the grit dignite that ve posses, for ther is na faculte, What estate can stait, nor vacatione in the vniuersal varld, that can be this? conparit til oure stait. for al vthir staitis of al degreis, baytht temporal and speritual, that remanis in tryumph- 12 and citeis and burroustounis, ther ringis na thing amang them bot auareis, inuy, hatrent, dispyit, discention, & mony vthir detestabil vicis: and also there bodeis 'ar [ loaf 0 (35), back] subject tyl al sortis of seiknes, be rason of the corrupit Cities engender infectione and euyl ayr that is generit in ane cite quhar maist confluens of pepil resortis, quhilk causis pestilens 18 and diverse vthir sortis of contagius maladeis, & alse ocasione that the maist part of them endis ther the intemperans of ther moutht2 in eyting & drynkyng, con- and intempersumis ther stomakis & al ther membris, quhilk is occasione that the maist part of tham endis ther dais in 23 there green southed. bot it is nocht siclyik of vs that ar scheiphirdis, for ve lyif on the fragrant feildis quhar Shepherds live in ve ar neureist3 vitht the maist delicius temperat ayr, fields and ther is nothir hatrent, auareis4 nor discord amang vs, nor there is nothir detraction, levsing is, nor calumni- 28 ations amang vs. ve hef cherite to god, & loue tyl our nychtbours, and the maist part of vs hes gude hail in our body quhil ve be ane hundretht zeir. ande alse to an old age. quhou be it that the riche and opulent potestatis that dueillis in citeis and burroustounis, reputis vs that ar 33 scheiphirdis to be ignorant, incivil, & rude of ingyne, City-dwellers zit nochtheles al the sciencis and knaulage that thai rude,

shepherds ?

compare with

1 nenresing 2 moucht <sup>2</sup> nenreist 4 anareis

[\* leaf 0 (87)] but all science had its beginning among them.

ascribe and proffessis to be dotit in them, hes fyrst procedit fra our faculte, nocht alanerly in the 'inventione of natural mecanyc consaitis, bot as veil the speculatione of supernatural thingis, as of the firmament and of the 5 planetis, the quhilk knaulage ve hef prettikyt throught the lang contemplene of the motions and revolutions of the nyne hauynis. Siklyik phisic, astronomye and

natural philosophie, var fyrst prettikit and doctrinet be 9 vs that ar scheiphirdis, for our faculte knauis the natur and the vertu of the sternis and planetis of the spere,

Especially Astronomy:

sters.

and of the circlis contenit in the samyn: for throught the lang studie and contemplene of the sternis, ve can they have long

contemplated the

Josephus tells that the sons of

Seth were the first astronomers.

They recorded their discoveries on two tablets,

one of brick to stand the fire, and one of stone to stand the flood,

gyf ane iugement of diverse futur accedentis that ar 14 gude or envl. necessair or domageabil for man or beyst: for it is manifest that scheiphirdis hes discriuit and definit the circlis and the mouyng of the speris, as i sal reherse to you that ar yong scheiphyrdis, to that effect 18 that 2e may hef speculatione of the samyn. fyrst, ihosephus the historigraphour that treittis of the antiquite of the ieuis, rehersis in his fyrst beuk, that the childr of seth (quhilk vas the soune of Adam) var the fyrst inuentours of the art of astronomie, and in-23 uestigatours of the celest coursis & mouimentis, the [ \* leaf 0 (87), back] quhilk art thai grauit vitht \*lettris (for the vtilite of there posterite) in tua tablis of stane. ane of the tabilis vas of baikyn stane, and the tothir tabil of onbaykyn stane. the quhilk thing that did be cause that hed herd 28 ther father seth reherse, that his father Adam hed prophetyszit that the varld sal end be vattir and be the fyir, and for that cause the baikyn stane vald thole the fyir, & the onba[k]yn stane vald thole the vattir, and of this sort the art of astronomic suld ay remane oncon-

33 sumit. ande thai tua tablis hes bene regester and fundatione til al them that hes studeit in cosmographie, geographie, and in topographie. There for, to mak ane diffinitione of cosmaghraphie (as far as ve scheiphirdis

hes contemplit) it is ane vniuersal discriptione of the Cosmography varld, contenand in it the four elementis, the eird, the universe, vattir, the ayr, and the fyir, the sone and mune, and al elements; the sternis: 1 ther for ane man that desiris tyl hef ony 4 iugement of cosmaghraphie, he suld fyrst contempil and considir the circlis of the spere celest: for be that dis- the great circles tinctione of the said circlis, it sal be facil to knau the distance of diverse cuntreis that lyis vndir the said circlis, baytht of there longitude and of ther latitude, 9 and the proportione of the climatis, and the diversite of the dais & nychtis of the four quarters of the varld, and it sal declair the mouyng, elevatione, and declina- the motions of tione of the sone, mune, and of the sternis fixt, and stars and planets. sternis erratic, and it sal declair the elevatione of the 14 polis, and the lynis parallelis, and the meridian circlis, and diverse vthir document is and demonstrations mathematikis.

¶ Nou fyrst to speik of the mouving of the spere. and of the divisione of the hauynis, 3e sal knau that 19 the varld is dividit in tua partis, that is to say, the The world confyrst part is the regione elementair, quhilk is subject a terrestrial and til alteratione and to corruptione, the nyxt part of the varld is callit the regione celest (quhilk philosophours callis quinta essentia) vitht in the concauite of the 24 quhilk is closit the regione elementar. this said regione celest is nothir variabil nor corruptabil. it is dividit in The celestial ten speris, and the gritest spere quhilk is the outuart ten spheres, spere, inclosis in it the spere that is nyxt til it, & sa be progressione and ordur, euyrie spere inclosis the spere 29 that is nerest tyl it. in the fyrst, the regione elementair is inclosit vitht in the spere of the mune, and nyxt it is the spere of mercu rius, and syne the spere of venus, [\*leaf0(38), buck] and nyxt it is the spere of the sone, and abufe and about it is the spere of mars, and syne the spere of Iupiter, and than the spere of Saturnus. and ilk ane of

of the sphere;

sists of two parts,

seven having each a planet;

the eighth is the firmament;

the minth is the orystalline heaven;

the last the primum mobile,

which carries the others along with it.

[\* leaf 0 (39)]

Beyond this, all is immovable; where stands the throne.

The axis of the aphere

ends in the two pole stars.

thir speris hes bot ane sterne or planete that mouis in the godiec contrar the muuyng of the fyrst mobil that ve cal the tent spere. nyxt thir speris is the firmament. quhilk is callit the hauyn, or the spere of the sternis, and about it is the nynte spere, callit the hauyn cristellyne, be cause 1 that there can nocht be na sternis seen 7 in it. Al thir nyne speris or hauvnis ar inclosit vitht in the tent spere, quhilk is callit the fyrst mobil, the quhilk makkis revolutione and course on the tua polis fra day to daye in the space of xxiiij houris fra orient til occident, and returnis agane to the orient. bot the 12 mouyng of the tother nyne hauynis is fra the occident to the orient, quhilk is contrar to the mouyng of the tent spere callit the fyrst mobil. ait nochtheles the mouyng of the fyrst mobil is of sic violens, that it constrengeis the tothir nyne speris or hauynis to pas vitht 17 it fra orient tyl occident, quhilk is contrar to there auen natural mouyng, there for the compulsit retrograid mouyng is callit be astrono mours, motus raptus accessus. & recessus stellarum fixarum. al the 21 thyng that circuitis this last tent hauyn or fyrst mobil, is immobil and mouis nocht: there for it is callit the it is the empyrean hauvn empire, quhar the trone divine standis, as effermis the famous doctours of the kyrk. Nou to proceid in the discriptione of the speris of the hauynis. in the 26 fyrst, 30 sal ymagyn ane lyne that passis throught the spere lvik til ane extree of ane cart, callit axis spere, quhilk is the rycht dyametre of the spere, on the quhilk

> lyne or extre the speris & hauynis turnis on. than at 30 the endis of the said lyne, 30 sal ymagyne tua sternis, quhilk ar callit the tua polis of the firmament. ane of them standis at the northt, quhilk is callit the pole artic, boreal, or septemtrional. it aperis til vs in our habitatione, be rason that it is elevat abuse our orizone.

> 35 the tothir sterne standis at the southt, and it is callit

the pole antartic austral or meridional, it is ay hid fra The south pole vs, for it aperis neuyr in our hemispere be rason that it is vndir our orizon. 3e sal vndirstand, that the sterne 3 quhilk the scheiphirdis and marynalis callis the north sterne, that sterne is nocht the pole artic, for the pole artic is bot ane ymaginet point, distant 'iiij degreis fra ['leaf0(39),back] that sterne that we cal the northt sterne, the quhilk sterne is callit alrukaba. and alse ze sal vndirstand, 8 that the southt1 sterne that is eleuat abufe the orizon of them that duellis beyond the equinoctial, it is callit canapus. ther for it suld nocht be callit the pole antartic, for the pole antartic is bot ane ymaginet The poles are point, quhilk standis iiij degreis fra the sterne that is callit canapus.2 There is ane vthir circle callit orizone, 14 the quhilk cuttis the spere in tua partis. there is tua The horizon sortis of origons, ane is callit the rycht origon, the intwain. tothir is callit the oblique orizone. thai that hes there zenith in the equinoctial, that hef the rycht orizon, be rason that the tua polis ar in there orizon, ande thai 19 that hes ane oblique orizon, ane of the polis is eleuat abufe ther orizon, ande the tothir pole is hid vndir there hemispeir and orizon. Ther is ane vthir circle in the spere callit meridian, the quhilk gais betuix the tua The meridian polis rycht abufe our hede. than quhen the sune to pole, cummis fra the orient to that circle, it is just tuelf 25 houris of the daye, & guhen the sune is in opposit til our meridian vndir our origon, than it is mydnycht. There is ane vthir circle of the spere, callit the circle equinoctial, the qu'hilk deuidis the spere in tua partis. it is of ane lyik distance fra the tua polis. it is callit lies even between equinoctial, be cause that quhen the sune cummis til it, than the day and the nycht ar of ane lyntht in euerye<sup>3</sup> 32 part of the varld, and that occurris tua tymis ilk zeir, that is to say, quhen the sune cummis in the fyrst degre of aries, quhilk is the xj daye of marche, & in the

imaginary points.

divides the sphere

[\* leaf 0 (40)] The equinoctial the two poles.

1 soucht COMPLAYNT. . 2 canap

s energe

The zodiac and its twelve signs,

1 fyrst degre of libra, quhilk is the xiij day of september. Ther is ane vthir grit circle in the spere, callit the godiac, the qualk deuidis the circle equinoctial in tua partis. the zodiac is deuidit in tuelf partis, and ilk part is callit ane sing, the quailk godiac extendis til tuelf 6 singnis, callit Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. Ande euyrie sing is dividit in xxx degreis. Ther is tua vthir circlis in the spere callit

The colures

colures. ane of them passis be the zodiac in the begyn-11 nyng of Aries and Libra, quhilkis ar tua singnis equinoctialis. the tothir circle passis in the begynnyng of Cancer and capricorn, quhilk ar tua solstice singnis. Ther ar four vthir litil circlis in the spere. ane is callit the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr.

The tropics.

[\*loaf\*(40), back] it is distant xxiij degreis xxx mu\*netis fra the equi-

17 noctial touart septemtrion. quhen the sune cumis til it, The summer and than it is the langest day of the zeir to them that duellis betuix the pole artic and the equinoctial. circle of capricorne is callit the solstice of vyntir. quhen the sune cummis til it passand touart the pol 22 antartic, than thai that duellis betuix the equinoctial

winter solstice.

and the pole antartic, hes ther langast day of the 3eir, & than ve hef the schortest day of the zeir. The circle artic is xxiij degreis xxx munitis fra the pole artic. siclyik the circle antartic is xxiij degreis xxx munitis

27 fra the pole antartic. & alse the septemtrional solstice callit the tropic of cancer, is xxiij degreis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial, and the meridional solstice of capricorn is xxiij degreis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial. The point that is rycht abuse our hede is callit zenyth,1

The zenith is right above our heads.

the quhilk is iiij scoir and ten degreis distant fra our 33 orizon, ande as oft as ve change fra place to place, as oft ve sal hef ane vthir zenytht,2 and the place that is direct contrar til our zenyth1 is callit antipodes. tha

3 genycht

1 3enych

The antipodes.

that duellis in thai partis, thai hef ther solis direct 1 contrar til our solis, ande thai hef the hauyn for ther zenyth1 as veil as2 ve, & quhen ve hef the langest day of sy'myr, than thai hef the schortest day in vyntir, ande quhen thai hef symmyr, than ve hef vyntir. 3it 5 nochtheles, lactantius firmien, that famous doctor of the Lactantius and holy kyrk, in his thrid beuk, in the xxiiij cheptor, he ridiculed the idea scornis the mathematiciens that effermis antipodos: & syklyik Sainct agustyne de ciuitate dei, in the ix cheptour of his seuynt beuk, allegis mony freuol argumentis 10 contrar the antipodos: quhar for it aperis veil that thir tua doctours, agustin & lactantius, var mair expert in they were better theologie nor thai var in cosmographie, considerand cosmographers. that ther is sa mony probabil rasons that preuis that the eird is round, ande that the eird is the centir of the 15 ix hauynis, and that the sune circuitis and gais about the eird euyrie xxiiij houris. for ve maye see be ex- Undoubtedly the periens, that guhen the sune rysis at our est origon, than it ascendis quhil it cum til our meridian, and ther eftir it declynis and passis vndir our vest origon, quhilk 20 is ane manifest taikyn that the sune gais about al the eird: quhar for it aperis veil, that ther is pepil duel- and people land vndir vs. and alse ve hef ane vthir probabil sing us. to preif that the eird and the vattir is rond, for admit- 24 tand that sum man vald set ane stabil mark at the 'see [\*loaf0(41), back] syde, and syne this man departand in ane schip fra that mark, sailand quhil he be furtht of the sycht of the said mark, than he beand in the body of the said schip The example of a quhen he hes tynt the sycht of his mark, than he see shows the montis and passis vp to the top of the schip, and than he persauis his mark perfytly, the quhilk he culd nocht 31 persaue in the body of the schip, quhou be it that the body of the schip be nerar his mark nor is the top of the schip, this exempil makkis plane that the eird is rond. Siklyik ane man beand on the hede of ane hil, 35

[\* leaf 0 (41)] Augustine of antipodes;

ship descried at earth is round.

1 zenych 3 TS 3 hanvnis Let the obstinate be convinced there are antipodes,

1 he vil see ane schip farrar on the seye nor he vil see at the fut of the hil, quhou be it that the fut of the hil be nerar the said schip nor is the hede of the hyl. i hef rehersit thir vordis to gar obstinat ignorant men consaue that ther is antipodos, that is to say, that there is pepil that duellis vndir our feit. i suld hef rehersit of befor, 7 quhou that thai that hes the equinoctial for ther zenyth,1 ande hes the tua polis in ther orizon, thai hef tua sym-

myrs and tua vintirs euyrie zeir. for ther fyrst symmyr is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of aries, 11 quhilk is in the xj day of marche, and ther fyrst vintir

[\* leaf 0 (42)]

is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of 'cancer, quhilk accordis witht the xij. day of iune; and ther sycond symmyr is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of libra, quhilk accordis vitht the xiiij. daye of 16 september; & ther sycond vintir is quhen the sune entris in the fyrst degre of capricorn, quhilk accordis vitht the xij. day of december. the tua vintirs that thai hef ar nocht verray vehement cald, bot ther tua sym-

Why the people under the line

are black :

20 myrs ar vondir birnand heyt, quhilk is occasione that the pepil that duellis vndir the equinoctial ar blac of ther And fra tyme that the sune be past the equinoctial, touart the meridian tropic of capricorn, than thai that dueillis vndir the northt pole, thai hef ane 25 conteneual nycht and no day, quhil on to the tyme that the sune return, & is entrit in the fyrst degre of

of the long night at the north pole

Aries, the rason of thir lang nychtis is, be cause that the sune beand past the equinoctial, touart the meridional tropic, than it is al that tyme vndir the origon

30 of them that hes the northt pole for ther 3enyth.3 Siklyik, quhen the sone cummis fra the equinoctial, passand touart the septemtrional tropic of cancer, than

that that duellis vndir the meridional pole, hes conand south pole. 34 teneual nycht quhil the sone returne agane to the fyrst [ leaf 0 (42), back] degre of libra, be rason that quhen the sone is northt

1 zenych

2 topart

3 zenych

fra the equinoctial, than it is vndir the origon of them 1 that hes the meridional pole for ther zenyth 1; & sa be this narratione, thai that duellis vndir the pole artic. hes ane conteneual nycht half ane zeir to gyddir, and lasting half a the tothir half zeir thai hef conteneual day and no nycht half ane zeir to gyddir; and it is of the samyn 6 sort to them that duellis vndir the pol antartic. And nou, sen i hef declarit the circlis of the spere, i vil speik of the revolutions and of the nature of the vij planetis. O 3e scheiphirdis, 3 3e sal contempil in the firmament ane sterne callit saturn, quhilk is hie abufe Saturn. al the laif of the planetis, and for that cause it aperis 12 verray litil to mennis sycht. it makkis revolutione in thretty zeir, and returns to the samyn point that it revolves in 50 cam fra, it makkis ane circle fra occident til orient, contrar the fyrst mobil. it is of ane cald frosty natur. Nyxt saturne standis the spere & hauyn of Iupiter, 17 quhilk makkis the cours & circuit in tuelf zeiris. it is Jupiter. of ane temperat natur, be cause it standis in the myd in 12 years. vay betuix the caldnes of Saturn & the byrnand heyt that Mars induris throught the vicinite of sol. Ande 21 nyxt to Iupiter standis 'the hauyn and spere of Mars, quhilk sum men callis Hercules. it reuoluis in ane Mars. circle in tua 3eiris. it is inflammit in ane feruent heyt revolves in two years; that ascendis fra the sone. Nyxt to Mars standis the 25 hauyn of the sone, the quhilk makkis revolutione in Sol. thre hundretht thre scoir of degreis, quhilk is the space year; of ane zeir. the verteous heyt of it temperatis al the sternis of the firmament. Nyxt vndir the spere of the 29. soune standis the spere & hauyn of Venus, quhilk is Venus. ane grit sterne of ane meruelous lustir. in the mornyng sometimes a morning star, it aperis ane lang tyme or the soune ryise, and gyffis ane grit lycht. at that tyme it is callit lucifer, be cause 33 it auancis the day befor the crepusculine. and siclyik it aperis verray haisty on fayr day lycht, quhen the soune

sheiphirdir

1 zenych

8 cellis

4 Ven

days;

sometimes an evening star :

1 discendis vndir the vest origon: at that tyme it is callit vesper, be cause it prolongis the day. sum men callis it Iuno, and sum callis it isis. al thing that the eird procreatis is confortit be it, be rason of the vertu of the

revolves in \$48

5 fresche deu that discendis fra it. it makkis ane onstabil revolution in thre hundretht xlviij dais, and av it is vitht in xlvj degreis fra the soune. Nyxt vndir the

Mercurius.

spere of Venus, standis the spere & hauyn of Mercurius, [\*leafo(45), back] quhilk sum men callis ap pollo, quhilk makkis reuolu-10 tione nyne dais mair haistiar nor dois venus, bot it

aperis nocht as grit as Venus. it is ay sene befor the soune rysing, and haisty eftir that the soune is cum to the vest orizon, & it is ay xxij. degreis neir to the The last and the nerest planet, quhilk is callit

The moon is the most admirable

Luna.

phases,

the mune, the quhilk is ane familiar frende to the eird, the creator of al thingis ordand it to be ane remeid contrar mirknes of the nycht, it is the maist admirabil sterne of the firmament. the diversite & the variance of

star, having many

19 it has trublit the vndirstanding of them that contemplit it, be rason that sum tyme it grouis & sum tyme it decressis, quhilk is contrar the natur of vthir sternis; for sum tyme it aperit neukyt, heffand hornis, and sum tyme it vas al rond, and sum tyme it vas bot half rond;

24 sum tyme it vald schau lycht2 half the nycht, and sum tyme it vald schau lycht al the nycht, & sum tyme it vald be thre dais to gyddir nocht sene; & alse the

revolutione & circuit of it maid as lang passage in xxvij 28 dais & viij houris, as the planet saturn did in thretty

which I shall explain.

Nou i vil rehers the cause of the variance ande the mutations of the cours of the Mune. 3e sal vndirstand, that the mutatione and variance of the muene, in sa mony diverse sortis, procedis as i sal reherse. The

[\* leaf 0 (44)]

33 mune is ane thik masse, round lyik ane boule or bal, heffand no lycht of hyr self; for sche and al the vthir sternis resauis ther lycht fra the soune. there for, sa

The moon has no light of her own,

mekil of the mune that hes hyr aspect touart the soune, 1 hes lycht; bot the tothir half of the mune, that hes no aspect to the soune, resauis no lycht. The cause quhy but receives ben that the mune schauis lycht one time, and is obscure sus. ane vthir tyme, is be rason that sche is moir suift in hyr retrograid cours nor the soune is: for of hyr auen 6 propir mouyng fra occident til orient in the 30diac, sche cummis euyrie xxvij dais viij houris vndir the samyn degre that the sone is in til. at that tyme the vulgaris sais that the mune is in the conjunction witht Sum tyme the mune is in oppositione, that 11 is, quhen the mune & the soune ar in apposit degreis. than ve see the maist part of the lycht that the mune hes resauit fra the soune. the vulgaris sais, at that tyme, that the mune is ful, zit nochtheles the mune is The moon is ay ful, as veil at the conjunction as at the appositione, bot quhen the mune is in the eclipis. for in the tyme 17 of the eclipis, the eird is betuix the mune and the sou'ne, quhilk is occasione that the mune resauis no [\*leafo(44), back] lycht fra the soune at that tyme. There is ane vthir admiration of the variant course of the mune,1 for sche 21 resauis mair lycht in hyr oppositione fra the soune, nor she receives more aperis tyl vs. The quhilk i sal preif be this rason. appears to us. Ane grit roundnes of lycht sal gyf lycht to mair nor the half of ane les roundnes, be rason that the superfice of ane grit roundnes hes ane largear aspect touart ane 26 roundnes of ane les quantite, nor ane smal roundnes can 2 hef touart ane grit roundnes. There for, sen the soune is of ane gritar quantite nor is the mune, be that cause, mair nor the half of the mune resauis lycht fra the soune. bot 3it ve see nocht sa mekil lycht in the 31 mune as sche hes resauit fra the soune in hyr apposi-Ane parson that behald is ane roundnes of ane gritar quantite nor is the space betuix his tua een, that parson sal nocht see sa mekil as is the half of that

1 muue

Concerning eclipses.

roundnes, be rason that the superfice of that roundnes is of mair quantite nor is the space or largenes that is betuix his tua een.

The eclips of the soune.

[\* leaf 0 (45)]

¶ Nou i vil reherse the cause of the eclipsis of the

Eclipis of the mune.

ŧ

soune and mune. ve may persaue manifestlye, that the eclips of the soune cummis be the interpositione of 7 the mune betuix vs and the soune, the quhilk empeschis and obfusquis the beymis of the soune fra our sycht. Siklyik, the mune is in eclips be the objectione of the eird, the quhilk eird empeschis the soune to gyf lycht 11 to the mune 1. of this sort, the soune is maid obscure til vs quhen it clips, be cause the vmbre and schaddou of the bak of the mune is betuix vs and the soune. alse the mune is maid obscure quhen it clips, be rason that the vmbre and schaddou of the eird empeschis hyr 16 to resaue lycht fra the soune. ther for i may efferme, that the myrk nycht is na vthir thyng bot quhen the

The influence of the stars.

All are subject to them.

They cause all mundane changes,

yet the Almighty overrules them.

¶ Nou, to speik of the influens and constellation of the soune and mune, and of the sternis, doutles man & 21 beyst, ande al vthir2 thyng that euyr vas procreat on the eird, ar subject to ther operatione, & rasauis alteratione throught there influens. The speculatione and contemplatione of mennis ingyne culd neuyr consaue ane final determinatione of the soune, mune, and of the sternis. fra ther operations and constellations pro-27 cedis tempest, stormis, fayr veddir, foul veddir, heyt, [ leaf 0 (45), back] cald, pestilens, con ualescens, rane, frost and snau, and al vthir accidentis that cummis on the eird, and on man and beyst: bot zit, at sum tyme, god almychty, be his diuyne permissione, mittigatis, augmentis, or dimuneuis baytht the gude operations and euil operations of the 33 planetis, efferand for the vertu and vice that ringis amang the pepil. ve ar veil experimentit, that quhen ther multipleis ane grit numir of sternis in the equi-

1 muue

soune and mune ar vndir our orizon

\* vrhir

noctial of Libra, or in the solstice of capricorn, at that Influence of the tyme ther occurris grit tempestis and tormentis of envl veddir. Ande alsa, at that tyme, men and vemen of 3 ane tendir complexione, ar in dangeir of divers maladeis, as of fluxis, caterris, collic and gut, and to divers vthir contagius seiknes. Sic lyik, throught the operatione of the sternis, the olive, the popil, & the osger tree changis the cullour and ther levuis, at ilk tyme 8 quhen the soune entris in the tropic of Cancer. sic in cancer, lvik, the dry mynt that hingis in ane house, resauis sum vertu of the eird, quhen the soune entris in the fyrst degre of capricorne. Siklyik, ther is ane eirb in Capricorn. callit helytropium, the quhilk the vulgaris callis 13 soucye; it hes the levuis appin as lang as the soune is in our hemispere, and it closis 'the levuis, quhen the [\*lost 0 (46)] soune passis vndir our origon. Siklyik, oistirs and Shell-flah incres mussillis, & al vthir schel fysche, grouis and incressis the moon. in ther natural qualite, eftir the conjunctione of the 18 mune, quhil on to the tyme of the appositione. than eftir the appositione, thai schel fische dimuneuis and grouis les, and of ane var qualite.

Siklyik ther is ane sterne callit canis. the euyl The evil influence constellatione of it begynnis at the sext daye of iulye, and endis at the xx daye of agust. the natur of it is 24 contrar tyl euyrie thyng that is procreat on the eird. The tyme of the operatione of it in our hemispere, is callit be the vulgaris the caniculair dais. the euyl natur In the dog-days of it inflammis the soune vitht ane onnatural vehement heyt, the quhilk oft tymis trublis and altris the vyne 29 in ane pipe in the depe caue, ande alse it generis pestilens, feuyrs, & mony vthir contagius seikness quhen it ringis in our hemispere, than dogis ar in dogs run mad. dangeir to ryn vod, rather nor in ony vthir tyme of the Siklyik ther is mony vthir euyl accidentis that 34 occurris through the euyl constellations of the planetis and of the sternis; ande alse sum of them erris and

1 altirs oft tymis fra ther auen natural course, quhilk is The motions of the planets portend prodigies and disasters,

[\*loaf@(46), back] ane taikyn and sing of \*prodigeis precedent euyl accidentis that ar tyl occur1 on princis or superiors of ane realme. the historigraphours rehersis, that there vas 5 thre sonnis sene at one tyme in the lyft, befoir the ciuil veyris that occurrit betuix anthonius2 and agustus cesar; and also ther was thre munis sene in the lyft. quhen domitius caius and flauius lucius var consulis of Siklyik there is diverse vthir sternis of ane 10 euyl constellation, quhilk pronosticatis future euyl accidentis. ther is ane sterne that aperis nocht oft in especially the star our hemispere, callit ane comeit. quhen it is sene, ther occurris haistyly eftir it sum grit myscheif, it aperis oft in the northt. it aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit circulus lacteus, the quhilk the marynalis callis vatlant streit, sum tyme it vil apeir lyik lang bludy 17 hayr, sum tyme lyik ane dart, sum tyme lyik ane bludy speyr, it aperit in the lyft lyik ane sourd be for the detht of Iulius cesar, and alse it aperit lyik ane trumpet, quhen the kyng of perse straik ane battel contrar the grecians. sum tyme it hes aperit lyik tua gait buckis iustand contrar vthirs. Nou to speik of the generatione of the rane. it is ane exalatione of humid vapours, generit in calme veddir abufe the vattirs on the 'eird, quhar that it coagulatis in ane thik clud: than the sternis of ane euyl constellatione brakkis that clud: than it fallis on diverse partis of the eird, in diverse sortis of schouris, sum mair, sum les; sum be grit

Of the cause of the rain.

called Comet,

which appears often in Watlingstreet (the Milky

Way).

[\* leaf 0 (47)]

25 and syne ascendis in the sycond regione of the ayr,

30 vehemens and tempest, and sum tyme in soft & varme schouris, in the antiant dais there was sene grit meruellis In ancient days in the rane, quhilkis signifeit prodigies of future euyl accidentis. In the tyme that marcus actilius and cayus portius var consulis of rome, the lyft did rane mylk,

it rained milk. blood.

and on the morne it ranit rede blude. siclyik, quhen anthoni' 1 ocenr

lucius volumnius and sergius sulpitius var consulis in 1 rome, the lyft did rane rau flasche. And alse, quhen raw feeb, the vailzeant roman, marcus crassus, vas slane be the parthiens, the lyft did rane yrn. Siklyik, quhen lucius iron, paulus and cayus marcellus var consuls in rome, the 5 lyft did rane grit quantite of vol; and alse, quhen titus wool, annius milo vas slane, the lyft did rane tile stanis. tile-stones. Nou, to speik of the generatione of the deu, it is ane of the dew. humid vapour, generit in the sycond regione of the ayr in ane fair calme nycht, & syne discendis in ane tem- 10 perat caldnes on the grene eirbis in smal droppis. The hayr ryim 'is ane cald deu, the quhilk fallis in mysty [\*leaf 0 (47), back] vapours, and syne it fresis on the eird. the myst, it is the mist, the excrement or the superfluite of the cluddis, the quhilk fallis fra the ayr in ane sueit rane, quhilk rane 15 can nocht be persauit be the sycht of men. Hail stonis hall, is ane congelit rane, quhilk fallis on the eird be grit vehemens, and it fallis rather on the day lycht nor on the nycht. The snau is ane congelit rane, frosyn and snow, congelit in the sycond regione of the ayr; bot it is 20 nocht sa ferme and hard congelit as is the hail stonis; 3it nochtheles it remanis langar onmeltit, be rason that it fallis ave in cald vedthir, ande the hail stonis fallis comontly in symmyr. The thoundir is ane corrupt thunder. fume generit on the eird, of vapours, and syne it as- 25 cendis in the sycond regione of the ayr, and congelis in diverse massife cluddis, quhilk stoppis and empeschis the operatione of the planetis to excerse ther natural course, than the vehemens of the planetis brakkis thai cluddis, fra the forse of the quhilk there cummis fyir 30 and ane grit sound, quhilk is terribil to be hard, & that terribil sound is the thyng that ve cal the thondir; bot or ve heir the thondir, ve see fyrst the fyir, quhou be it that that proceed at ane in stant tyme. the cause that [ • lost 0 (48)] ve see the fyire or ve heir the thoundir, is be rason 35

Light travels more swiftly than sound.

Curious freaks of thunder.

that the sycht and cleirnes of ony thing is mair suyft touart vs nor is the sound. The euvl that the thondir dois on the eird, it is dune or ve heir the crak of it. Oft tymis ve vil see fyir slaucht, quhou be it ther be na thondir harde. The thondir slais mony beystis on

6 the feildis; & quhen it slais ane man that is sleipand, he sal be fundin dede, and his ene close; and quhen it slais ane valkand man, he sal be fundin dede, and his The thoundir is maist dangerous for man ene appin. ande beyst, quhen there cummis na rane vitht it.

Most dangerous when unaccompanied by rain.

fyir slaucht vil consume the vyne vitht in ane pipe in 12 ane depe caue, & the pipe vil resaue na skaytht. the fyir slaucht sleu ane man on the feildis, and it meltit the gold that vas in his bag, and it meltit nocht the vax of ane seyl that vas in that samyn bag. In rome there 16 vas ane nobil princesse callit martia grit vitht child;

sche vas on the feildis for hyr recreatione, quhar that the fyir slaucht straik hyr, & sleu hyr nocht, bot zit it sleu the child in hyr voyme. There is thre thyngis that ar neugr in dangeir of thoundir nor fyir slaucht,

that is to saye, the laurye2 tree: the sycond is the

Three things safe from thunder-

the laurel, the seal, and the eagle.

[\*leafo(48), back] \*selcht, quhilk sum men callis the see volue: the thrid thyng is the eyrn, that fleis sa hie. The historigraphours rehersis, that tybereus Cesar, empriour of 25 rome, hed euyr ane hat of laure tree on his hede, and alse he gart mak his pailsons and tentis on the feildis, of selcht skynnis, to that effect that he mycht be furtht of the dangeir of the thoundir and fyir slaucht. best remeid contrar thoundir & fyir slaucht, is to men and vemen to pas in hou cauernis vndir the eird, or in 31 depe cause, be cause the thoundir dois maist domage tyl

The best remedy against thunder.

hie placis.

The winds.

¶ Nou, to speik of the cause and of the natur of the vynd, eftir the discriptione of the scheiphirdis and hirdis of the antiant dais. 3e sal undirstand, that the

1 sundin

a laury o, perhaps should be lauryre

vynd is no vthir thyng bot ane vapour or exalatione, 1 heyt and dry, generit in the concauiteis and in the bouellis of the eird, the quhilk ascendis and discendis vp and doune betuix the eird and the sycond region of 4 the ayr. The marynalis at this present tyme hes set furtht and discriuit thretty tua sortis of vyndis; bot ve Mariners count that ar scheiphirdis, hes no iugement bot of viij sortis of vyndis, of the quhilk numir ther is iiij. callit vyndis 8 cardinal, and the tothir iiij. ar callit vyn dis collateral. the fyrst cardinal vynd is callit auster or meridional The four cardinal vynd, quhilk the vulgaris callis southyn vynd. it is heyt and humid of natur. it generis thondir, cluddis, 12 and smal soft ranis, ande alse it is the cause of pesti- and their lens, and of vthir contagius seiknes. The nyxt cardinal vynd is callit subsolanus1 or oriental, quhilk the vulgaris callis estin vynd, quhilk, throught the vertu of the soune, is heyt and dry of natur. it is hoilsum for man and beyst, and alse it nureseis al 18 thyng that the eird procreatis. The thrid cardinal vynd is callit septemtrional or borial, quhilk vulgaris callis northin vynd. it is cald and dry, of ane melancolic natur, it is hoilsum for man and beyst that ar kepit fra excessif2 caldnes, bot it is verray contrar & noysum to the frutis of the eird. The feyrd cardinal 24 vynd is callit fauonius or occidental, quhilk vulgaris callis vestin vynd. it is cald and humid, of ane flegmatic natur. it is neuresant for the frute of the eird, bot it is contrar tyl tendir complexions that ar subject tyl seiknes. Nou, to speik of the iiij. collateral vyndis. the The four colfyrst is callit auster aphricus, quhilk is betuix auster and fauonius. it is callit be the vulgaris southt vest. 31 it generis baytht humi'diteis & maledeis. The nyxt [\*leaf0(49), back] colateral vynd is callit furo auster, quhilk is betuix auster & subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it southt est. it is heyt and dry of natur, and it generis cluddis and and their in-

1 subsolan' 2 excessis

The thrid collateral vynd is callit aquilon, quhilk is betuix septemtrion and subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it northest. it is cald and dry of natur. it is mair hoilsum tyl ane 1 person nor it is pleysand. it is 5 contrar to the frutis, fleureis, and eirbis of the eird. The feyrd collateral vynd is callit circius, quhilk is betuix septemtrione and fauonius, the vulgaris callis it nortuest, it is cald & dry of natur, it generis snau, tempest, & vehement stormis. it is verray noisum til al 10 them that occupe is baytht be see and land. thingis befor rehersit, of the circlis of the speir, & of

From the foregoing it appears that mankind are subject to the influence of the planets.

the hauynis and planetis, is said, to gar 30us consider that man kynd is subject to the planetis and to ther influens, ther for ve suld prepair and prouid to resist 15 ther euyl constellations, for quhou be it that thai ar the instramentis of god, ait nochtheles he of his gudnes resistis there euyl influens, fra tyme that ve be cum obedient tyl his command.

Sapions dominabitur astris.

#### Actor.

[\* leaf 0 (50)] The author marvelled at the shepherd's scientific lore,

wife bade him

and proposed some lighter recreation;

\*¶ Quhen the scheiphird hed endit his prolixt orison to the laif of the scheiphirdis, i meruellit nocht litil quhen i herd ane rustic pastour of bestialite, distitut 22 of vrbanite, and of speculatione of natural philosophe, indoctryne his nychtbours as he hed studeit ptholome, auerois, aristotel, galien, ypocrites or Cicero, quhilk var but the shepherd's expert practicians in methamatic art. Than the scheipcease his prosing, hirdis vyf said, my veil belouit hisband, i pray the to 27 decist fra that tideus melancolic orison, quhilk surpassis thy ingyne, be rason that it is nocht thy facultee to disput in ane profund mater, the quhilk thy capacite can nocht comprehend. ther for, i thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus' comonyng quhil on to 32 the tyme that we return to the scheip fald wytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatione i thynk it best

1 200 9 3on that euvrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas for example, each the tyme quhil euyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis 2 var glaid of this propositione. than the The proposition eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follouit, ane be by all. ane in ther auen place. it vil be ouer prolixt, and no of their tales the les tideus to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal give the names. reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. \*sum vas in [\*leaf 0 (50), back] prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum prose, and some var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as eftir Their names: follouis. the taylis of cantirberrye. Robert le dyabil Tales; duc of Normandie, the tayl of the volfe4 of the varldis 11 end, Ferrand erl of Flandris that mareit the deuyl, the World's end; taiyl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis, the tail The Red Etin quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir, with the three the prophysic of merlyne, the tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men, on fut by fortht as i culd found, vallace, The Wallace and the bruce, ypomedon, the tail of the thre futtit dog of norrousy, the tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent 18 hidra that hed vij heydis, the tail quhou the kyng of How the king of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure married the land, Skail gillenderson the kyngis sone of skellye, the westmoreland; tayl of the four sonnis of aymon, the tail of the brig of the mantribil, the tail of syr euan, arthours knycht, Sir Evan, Arthur's knight; rauf collaear, the seige of millan, gauen and gollogras, 24 lancelot du lac, Arthour knycht he raid on nycht vitht Lancelot du Lac; gyltin spur and candil lycht, the tail of floremond of he rode on night; albanye that sleu the dragon be the see, the tail of syr valtir the bald leslye, the tail of the pure tynt, claryades the Bold Lesley; and maliades, Arthour of 'litil bertangze, robene hude and litil ihone, the meruellis of mandiueil, the tayl of Britain; the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband, the ryng of wonders; the roy Robert, syr egeir and syr gryme, beuis of south- 32 amtonn, the goldin targe, the paleis of honour, the tayl Bouthampton; quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis, the tayl of Pirramus and Pyramus and

author will only in verse. The Canterbury

the Bruce;

Katmoreland

Arthur knight,

(\* leaf 0 (51)) Arthur, of Little Mandeville's

<sup>3</sup> sarnandis 3 aneu 4 should probably be volle or velle Thisbe: The transformation of Io:

The Golden Apple;

how Midas got two ass's cars.

They next began to sing songs.

of ancient native music.

tesbe, the tail of the amours of leander and hero, the tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane 3 cou, the tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice, Opheus kyng of portingal, the tayl of the goldin appil. the tail of the thre veird systirs, the tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monstir minotaurus, the tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede be cause of his auereis.

¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pleysand storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite. the foure marmadyns that sang quhen thetis vas mareit on month pillion, thai sang nocht sa sueit as did thir 14 scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie,

9

They sang in parts, and in harmony.

The names of some of the songs:

Pastance with

note.

King William's

The frog came to the Mill door.

leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir [ \* leaf 0 (51), leack] scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure \*marmadyns in melodius music, in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron, the musician amphion! quhilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and 20 alse the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pronuncit there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. 3it nochtheles his ermonius<sup>2</sup> sang prefferrit nocht the sueit sangis of thir foir said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit<sup>3</sup> sangis that i herd among them as eftir follouis. in the fyrst, pastance vitht gude companye, the good company:
26 breir byndis me soir. Stil vndir the leyuis grene, Cou thou me the raschis grene, allace i vyit zour tua fayr ene, gode 30u gude day vil boy, lady help 30ur presoneir, kyng vill; amis note, the lang nounenou, the cheapel valk, faytht is there none, skald abellis nou, The abirdenis nou, brume brume on hil, allone i veip in grit distres, trolee lolee lemmen dou, bille vil thou 33 cum by a lute and belt the in Sanct Francis cord, The frog cam to the myl dur, the sang of gilquhiskar, rycht

soirly musing in my mynde, god sen the duc hed byd-

1 amphiou 2 ermoni' 3 aneit

din in France, and delaubaute hed neuyr1 cum hame, De la Bastie, al musing of meruellis amys hef i gone, Mastres fayr 3e 2 vil forfayr, o lusty maye vitht flora quene, O myne hart hay this is my sang, the 'battel of the hayrlau, the [\*leaf 0 (52)] hunttis of cheuet, Sal i go vitht 30u to rumbelo fayr, Chevy Chase. Greuit is my sorrou, turne the sueit ville to me, My lufe 6 is lyand seik, send hym ioy, send hym ioy, fayr luf lent thou me thy mantil ioy; The perssee & the mon- The Percy and gumrye met, that day, that day, that gentil day; my luf is laid apon ane knycht, allace that samyn sueit 10 face, in ane myrthtful morou, my hart is leiuit on the land.

Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony They sang many vthir melodius sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in other songs; memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began 15 to dance in ane ring, euyrie ald scheiphyrd led his vyfe then joined in be the hand, and euyrie zong scheiphird led hyr guhome he luffit best. Ther was viij scheiphyrdis, and ilk ane The names of the of them hed ane syndry instrument to play to the laif. eight musical instruments on the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane which they played, pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid 21 playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playt on ane recordar, the seuint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that Amphion or playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he kepit his scheip, have surpessed nor 3it appollo the god of sapiens, that kepit kyng admetus scheip, 'vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir [\*leaf 0 (55), back] tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis 29 befor rehersit; nor git al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention 3 in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus nor Orpheus, that playit sa sueit quhen he socht his vyf in hel, his playing prefferrit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor 34 git the scheiphyrd pan, that playt to the goddis on his

Anollo could not

1 nenyr COMPLAYNT. <sup>3</sup> molodi'

8 mentnon

kins.

nor Pan with his bag-pipe.

They began with two becks and a

bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid. none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i

3 beheld neuyr ane mair dilectabil recreatione. for fyrst thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. euripides, iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them

8 kepit moir geomatrial mesure nor thir scheiphyrdis did in ther dansing. Nor ludius that was the fyrst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheiphirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmonding,1 stendling bakuart & forduart, 13 dansand base dansis, pauuans, galzardis, turdions,

It was a celestial sight to see.

[\* leaf 0 (53)]

dances.

dancis, the quhilk ar ouer prolixt to be rehersit. 3it nochtheles i sal rehers 'sa mony as my ingyne can put The names of the in memorie.2 in the fyrst, thai dancit al cristyn mennis dance, the northt of scotland, huntis vp, the comount entray, lang plat fut of gariau, Robene hude, thom of 20 lyn, freris al, ennyrnes, the loch of slene, the gosseps

braulis and branglis, buffons, vitht mony vthir lycht

dance, leuis grene, makky, the speyde, the flail, the lammes vynde, soutra, cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly, schayke leg, fut befor gossep, Rank at the rute, baglap and al, ihonne ermistrangis dance, the alman have, the 25 bace of voragon, dangeir, the beye, the dede dance, the

dance of kylrynne, the vod and the val, schaik a trot. When the dancing than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu

> vp there baggipis, than the bel veddir for blythtnes 30 bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis raschit there heydis to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis follouit on the fellis baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis and dailis, gylmyrs and dilmondis, and mony herueist hog. than i departit fra that companye, and i entrit in ane onmauen

The author entered a meadow full of flowers, grasses

and herbs.

was done, they

went about their employment.

1 galmouding

medou, the quhilk abundit vitht al sortis of hoilsum 3 2 menorie

b holisum

flouris, gyrsis, and eirbis maist convenient for medycyn. 1 in the fyrst, i sau ane erb callit barba aaron, quhilk was Among them were gude remeid for emoroyades of the fundament, i san vir met, that vas gude for ane febil stomac, & sourak-[\*leaf 0 (58), back] kis, that vas gude for the blac gulset. i sau mony grene sourceks (sorrel), seggis, that ar gude to prouoke the flouris of vemen. i green sedges sau the vattir lille, quhilk is ane remeid contrar go- water-lily, moria. i sau tansay, that is gude to purge the neiris, tansy, good for the kidneys; and ennetseidis that consumis the ventositeis of the aniso-seed, stomac. i sau muguart, that is gude for the suffocatione mugwort, of ane vomans bayrnis hed. i sau veyton, the decoctione whitten, of it is remeid for ane sair hede. i sau betis, that is beet, gude contrar constipatione. i sau borage, that is gude borage, to confort the hart. i sau cammauyne, quhilk is gude camomile, for ane scabbit moutht. i sau hemp, that coagulis the homp, flux of the sparme. i sau madyn hayr, of the quhilk maiden-hair, ane sirop maid of it is remeid contrar the infectione of 17 the melt. i sau celidone, that is gude to help the sycht celandine, of the ene, & cipresses, that is gude for the fluxis of expresses, the bellye. i sau corriandir, that is gude for ane ald coriander, good hoste. i sau finkil, that slais the virmis of the bellye i cough; sau fumeterre, that tempris ane heyt lyuyr. i sau fumitory, brume, that prouokis ane person to vome ald feume. i broom, sau raschis, that prouokis men to sleip. i sau ysope, rushes, that is gude to purge congelit<sup>2</sup> fleume of the lychtis.<sup>3</sup> brings phlegm from the lungs, i sau mony vthir eirbis on thai fresche fragrant feil dis. ande als i sau mony landuart grumis pas to the corne berbs. land to laubir there rustical ocupatione. al this be me 28 veil contemplit, ande beand contentit of that pleysand Contented with nychtis recreatione, i maid me reddy to returne to the ation, the anthor toune that i cam fra, to proceid in the compiling of my to the compilation beuk. Bot morpheus that slepye gode, assailzeit al my but he was on membris, ande oppressit my dul melancolius nature, eleep, quhilk gart al my spreitis vital ande animal be cum impotent & paralitic: quhar for on neid forse, i vas

Aaron's beard,

wormwood. against an old finkel, or fannel. [\* leaf 33 (54)] and many other his night's recreprepared to return of his book,

3 lychtnis 1 ame s congeli

and in his

1 constrengeit to be his sodiour. than in ane takyn of obediens, i maid hym reuerens on my rycht syde on the cald eird, ande i maid ane cod of ane gray stane. than i purposit to preue ane prettic. i closit my een to 5 see gyf i culd leuk throucht my ee liddis. bot my experiens vas sune expirit. for tua houris lang, baytht my eene greu as fast to gyddir as thai hed bene gleuit vitht glar or vitht gleu. i beand in this sad solitar soune sopit in sleipe, ane hauy melancolius dreyme perturbit 10 the foure quartaris of my dullit brane, the quhilk dreyme i sal reherse in this gros dyit as neir the verite as my rememorance can¹ declair to my rude ingyne.

dreamed the following dream.

[\*leaf \$2(54), back]

# The Visione that aperit befor the Actor in his Sleipe.

#### CHAP. VII.

N my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione, i thocht

In his dream he saw a lady

15

that ther aperit to me ane lady of excellent extractione ande of anciant genolygie, makkand ane melancolius cheir for the grite violens that sche hed sustenit & indurit. it aperit be hyr voful contenens, that sche vas in grite dout ande dreddour for ane mair dolorus future ruuyne that vas aperand to succumb hyr haistylve, in the maist extreme exterminations, hyr

in great trouble.

20 haistylye, in the maist extreme exterminatione. hyr hayr, of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & trachlit out of ordour, hingand ouer hyr<sup>2</sup> schuldirs. sche hed ane croune of gold, hingand & brangland, that it vas 24 lyik to fal doune fra hyr hede to the cald eird. sche

Her shield had a red lion rampant in a field of gold, bordered with double fleursde-lis. bure ane scheild, in the quhilk vas grauit ane rede rampand lyon in ane feild of gold, bordoryt about vith<sup>3</sup> doubil floure delicis. This rede lyon vas hurt in mony placis of his body. the acoutrementis ande clethyng of

s byr

this dolorus lady, vas ane 'syde mantil that couurit al [\*leaf \$3 (55)] hyr body of ane meruelouse ingenius fassoune, the 2 quhilk hed bene tissu ande vrocht be thre syndrye fassons of verkmenschips. 1 the fyrst part, quhilk vas the The upper part of her mantle (the hie bordour of hyr mantil, there vas mony precius nobility), stanis, quhar in ther vas grauit scheildis, speyris, 6 sourdis, bayrdit horse harnes, ande al vthir sortis of vaupynis ande munitions of veyr. in the middis of that the middle part mantil, there vas grauit in carrecters, beukis, ande figuris, diverse sciensis divyne ande humain, vitht mony 10 cheretabil actis ande supernatural miraclis. on the thrid part of that mantil, i beheld, brodrut about al hyr the lower part tail, al sortis of cattel ande profitabil beystis, al sortis of cornis, eyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchantdreis, ande mony politic verkmanlumis for mecanyc 15 This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid & vrocht in ald tymys be the prudent predecessours of this foyr said lady, vas reuyn & raggit in mony placis, that This mantle was skantly mycht i persaue the storeis ande figuris that hed bene grauit, vrocht, ande brodrut in ald tymis in 20 the thre partis of it. for the fyrst part of it vantit (the nobility were mony of the scheildis ande harnes that vas fyrst vrocht in it, ande ane vthir part of 'the schieldis & harnes [\*leaf\$3(55),back] var brokyn ande roustit, ande reddye to fal ande tyne furtht of the bordour of that mantil. Siklyik the 25 pleisand verkmenschips that vas in the middis of hyr (the spirituality mantil vas seperat fra vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrst first fishion), fassone, that na man culd extract ony profitabil sentens nor gude exempil furtht of ony part of it. Nou to speik of the thrid part of hyr mantil. it vas verst (the commons grathit, ande spylt be ane grit defferens nor vas the of all). tothir tua partis of that mantil: for it aperit that al the grene treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanyc craftis, ande 33 schips, ande marchandreise, that hed bene curiouslye vrocht in ald tymis in the bordour of the tail of that

had left their

1 read On the fyrst part

1 mantil, vas spilt ande distroyit, ande the eird vas becum barran & stirril, ande that na ordinance of policye culd be persauit in it, nor esperance of releif. Nou to conclude of the fassone of this ladeis mantil, it was baytht 5 altrit in cullour ande in beaulte, and reuyn in mony placis, hingand doune raggit in pecis in sic ane sort, that gyf thay hed bene present that wrocht ande maid

The first makers would not have recognized their handiwork,

[\* leaf 84 (56)]

This 'affligit lady beand of this sort troublit ande dis-11 aguisit, ande al hyr gaye clathis reuyn & raggit, throught the grite violens that sche hed sustenit, sche began to suspire lamentabil regrettis, vitht mony salt teyris distillant doune fra hyr piteous ene. this desolat

it in the begynnyng, thai vald haue clair myskend it.

be rasone that it was sa mekil altrit fra the fyrst fassone.

15 affligit lady beand in this perplexite, ande disparit of remeid, sche began to contempil the vidthrid barran feildis, quhilkis in vthir tymis hed bene fertil in al prosperiteis, quhar sche persauit cummand touart hyr thre of hyr auen natiue natural sonnis. The eldest of them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hym. beand al affrayit ande fleyit for dreddour of his lyue. The sycond of hyr sonnis vas sittand in ane chair,

beand clethd2 in ane sydegoune, kepand grite grauite,

kyt vitht rouste. hyr zongest sone vas lyand plat on

his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clathis var reuyn

ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ande

the second had a book, whose clasps were fast with rust; 24 heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lok-

The lady saw her three sons ap-

proaching.

The eldest fied for his life :

the third was in so wretched a plight that he could not stand.

ane piteouse complaynt. he tuke grite pane to ryise vp 29 on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp. [\*loaf\$4(56),back] Than quhen this lady persauit hyr thre son nis in that

langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuectyuely 33 of ther neclegenes, couuardeis ande ingratitude vsit The lady began to contrar hyr: the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit witht mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be aperens procedit

reproach them.

fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolatione, ande dis- 1 parit of remede. than i beand in my sopit melancolius dreyme, i thocht that i inquirit of hyr stile, of hyr duelling place, & of the dolorus cause of hyr lamentabil regrettis. Sche ansuert vitht ane dolorouse contenens, 5 quod sche, my name is callit the affligit lady dame Her name was scotia. vthir tymis i haue tryumphit in gloir ande prosperite, bot nou aduerse fortoune hes bene inuvful 8 contrar my veil fayr, quhilk is the cause that my tri- Nichil est umphant stait is succumbit in decadens. ther can tam mirabile quam ex beato nocht be ane mair vehement perplexite as quhen ane effeci miser. person beand in prosperite at his hartis desire, ande Cic. part. syne dechays in miserabil adversite, thir vordis mave be applyit ande conferrit vitht the dolorouse accidentis 14 that hes persecutit me. for i that hes bene in maist Persecuted by fortunat prosperite, nou i am inuadit ande affligit be my abandoned of her ald mortal enemeis be the maist extreme assaltis that ther pouuer can exsecute, the quhilk i beleuit til [\*leaf \$5 (57)] haue resistit be the support ande supple of my thre sonnis,2 that standis heir in my presens, be rason that liares, sed thai ar oblist be goddis lau, ande be the lau of nature, to be my deffens contrar al externe inuasions, bot thai patria comhaue schauen them self ingrat3 dissymilit ande couuardis plectitur, pro in the just deffens of my veil fayr, as thou sal heir be bonus dubitathis reproche that i sal pronunce to them in thy presens. as eftir follonis.

<sup>2</sup> somnis

s in grat

1 ponuer

Dame Scotia,

cowardly sons, Cari sunt liberi, propinqui famiomnes omnium charitates rua nemo bit mortem oppetere si ei sit profuturus. Cio. offi. 1.

## Quhou the affligit Lady. Dame Scotia. reprochit hyr thre Sonnis, callit the Thre Estaitis of Scotland.

#### CHAP. VIII.

IGNORANT, abusit, ande dissaitful pepil, gone

by the path | vaye of verteouse knaulage, beand of ane effemenet courage, degradit fra honour, ande degenerit fra the nobilite of your foir fadirs & predecessours, O quhat vanhap, quhat dyabolic temptatione,

6 quhat misire, quhat maledictione, or quhat vengeance is

[\*leaf \$5 (57), back] this that hes succumbit 3 our honour, ande hes blyndit 30ur ene fra the perspectione of 30ur extreme runyne?

> allace, quhy haue 3e nocht pytie of me 3our natural mother, or quhy haue 3e no pytie of 3our selfis? allace, quhat oratour can dyscryue, blame, or repreue 30ur

neclegens, couuardeis, ande 3our ingratitude? allace,

quhy remembir 3e nocht that natur hes oblist 3ou til 14 auance the salute ande deffens of your public veil? ande

Non est magis quhat that be (as Cicero sais) that hurtis the public veil, tha deserue as grite reproche as tha hed sellit

> traisonablye the realme to there enemeis; for the proditione of ane realme succedis to the hurt of the public

> veil. allace, than, quhy vil 3e nocht haue misericord & pytie of your native cuntre, quhar that ze var engenerit, borne, ande neureist, ande 3our frendis and childir hes

3our sustentatione in it? allace, the nativite of ane man suld be litil prisit, ande his lang liue dais les desirit

24 quhen ther procedis na frute of his laubirs bot for his auen singulair vtilite, ande nocht for the public veil.

allace, the natural love of your native cuntre suld be inseperablye rutit in 3our hartis, considerand that 3our

Degenerate children!

Vim neque parenti neque patrie offerre oportet. Cic. lentulo.

have ye forgotten the claims of nature ?

vituperandus proditor patrie, quam communis vtilitatis aut salutis desertor proplor suam salutem aut vtilitatem. Cic. de fini,

have ye no patriotism? lyuis, 30ur bodeis, 30ur habitatione, 30ur frendis, 30ur 1 lyuyngis, ande 'sustentan, zour hail, zour pace, zour refuge, the reste of your eild, ande your sepulture is in it. than allace quhy ar 3e nocht solist to deffende the liberte, ande to saue the dominione of it? i maye say 5 ande conferme be raisone, that al pepil ar disnaturalit fra there gude nature, quhilkis in necessite enforsis them nocht, at there pouer, to purches & til anance the public veil of there native cuntre, it beand distitut of supple, & desolat, throught grite persecutione of mortal 10 enemeis; for thai that vil nocht expose there bodeis Those that win ande gudis to perrel ande dangeir, for the just deffens country are lower of there honour, lyuis, frendis, ande gudis, bot rather vil thole them selfis, ther public veil, & ther native cuntre, to perreis al to gyddir, thai ar mair brutal nor 15 brutal beystis, it aperis that the lau of nature is mair perfytly acompleist in brutal beystis, nor it is in 30u that professis to be natural men; for your verkis testifeis that 3e ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystis such are ye. that hes na vndirstanding of raison. the foulis of the Bestie pro suc ayr vil deffende ther nestis vitht there nebbis ande partuita profeit: the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis, and dogis, vil deffende vulnera excithere cauerne & there quhelpis, vitht there 'tethe & [ \*leaf 86(58), back ] Allace, this sair complaynt is to me rycht hauy, impetus nulbot the litil support that i vil get of 30u is far hauyar; los casus refor 3e quhilkis suld sustene, deffende ande releif me, 3e Go. 5. tus. ar the aduerse party of my prosperite; for in the stede of reuarde ande gratitude that 3e ar oblist to gyf to me, 28 3e purches ande auancis my distructione for 3our par- You sacrifice your ticular veil. My ald enemeis hes persecutit me outuartly private interest. in cruel veyris be fyir ande sourde; bot the veyr that ze mak inuartly contrar me, be auereise & ambitione, is mair cruel. my mortal enemeis purchessis to raif my 33 liberte, ande to hald me in ane miserabil subjectione; bot 3e hald me in ane mair seruitude, be 30ur disordinat neclegens ande couuardise. my ald enemeis dois me

not defend their than brute beasts.

None of you trusts another. 1 grite domage vitht ane grite armye of men of veyr, be see ande be land; bot 3e, vndir the cullour of frendschip, purchessis my final exterminatione, for falt of gude reul ande gouvernance. Ande alsa, 3e ar sa diuidit amang your selfis, that nocht ane trouis ane vthir:

6 for throught the suspetione that ilk ane of 30u hes of vthirs, euyrye ane of 30u seikis his particular releif: for sum of 30u ar fled far vitht in the cuntre, sum of 30u

[\* leaf 37 (59)]

ar fled to the hillis, ande sum of 30u remanis in 30ure 10 auen housis on the inglis mennis assurance, ande sum of you ar be cum neutral men, lyik to the ridars that dueillis on the debatabil landis. of this sort 3e haue run Some of you have to your auen distructione. ande quhou be it of al thir

yielded to the English.

- particular onleiful consaitis that 3e haue vsit to saue 15 you fra the crualte of ingland, 3it the maist subtel nor the maist dissymilit of you al is nocht saue; for as sune as the inglis men dreymis that 30 haue fail3et to them, than thai repute 30u for there mortal enemeis far mair nor thai repute ony scottis man that vas neuyr assurit.
- 20 ande quhen 3e haue fulfillit the inglis mennis desyre, & hes helpit to distroye your natyue cuntre, git the inglis men sal neuyr1 cal 30u ane vthir vord bot renegant scottis, and ze sal neuyr be reput bot for barbir slauis, as your croniklis vil testifee; and alse the practic of 25 yis2 present tyme makkis it manifest, al the gude treittyng that scottis men gettis in ingland changis in ane

and have become vile slaves.

vile seruitude.

1 meury 2 i. e. this, one of the few instances in the book of y used for b or th.

## \*Quhou the affligit Lady exortis the Thre Estaitis to tak exempil of diverse Cuntreis that Gode hes releuit fra Wersecutione.

[\*leaf 37 (59), back ]

#### CHAP. IX.

3E my thre sonnis, i exort 3ou to praye to re- Pray to God, and leif 30u of 30ur afflictione, & alse to put 30ur handis to verk to help your selfis, than doubles 3 god sal be mersyful to 30u, & he sal fulfil his promes that is writtyn in the xxvi of leuitic. that is to saye, fiue of you sal chaisse ane hundretht of your enemeis, 2 & ane hundretht of 30u sal chasse ten thousand of 30ur enemeis; for god is as mychty nou as euyr he vas. it is Ecce non est vrityn in the lix of Esaye thir vordis, Behold, the hand abbreviata of the lorde is na scheortar nor it vas, na it maye saue vt saluare 30u: nor his eyris ar nocht stoppit, bot he maye heir nequiat. 30u: bot 30ur iniquiteis hes maid divisione betuix 30u ande hym, ande 3our synnis hes hid his face fra 3ou.

help yourselves.

¶ 3e maye persaue be thir vordis of Esaye, that the scurge that hes affligit 30u, is ane pu nitione for 30ur [\*leaf 40 (80)] Ye have been demeritis; ande alse 3e maye persaue be this sammyn scourged for your text, that your grite afflictione ande tribil sal turne in ioye ande prosperite, gyue sa beis that 3e vil retere fra Repent, and 30ur vice. 3e haue mony manifest exemplis of diuerse cuntreis that hes bene scurgit be the hand of gode, ande 20 hes bene in dangeir of final exterminatione; 3it nochtheles gode of his grace hes restorit them eftiruart in ane mair abundand prosperite nor thai var of befor, fra 1 Machabe. 2. tyme tha be cam obedient til his magestie. there are mair euident exempil nor is in the bibil in Remember the the fyrst beuk of the machabeis, quhou anthiocus kyng Maccabees. of sirrie, be vsurpatione ande tirranrye, subdeuit the 27 cuntre of iuda ande the cite of ierusalem? he spulzeit

manus domini Esaye 59.

1 3our renemies

1 the tempil, ande reft the goldin alter, the chandelaris of lycht, ande al the goldin veschel, ande the tabil of propositione, the coupis, tassis, crouettis, crounis, ande al the goldin ornamentis of the sanctuar. he sleu men, 5 vemen ande childir, 30ng ande ald, ande brynt there housis. the remanent of the pepil var constrengeit to fle to strait montanis ande deseirtis for refuge; for al iherusalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desola-At that 'tyme, ane man of Israel callit matathias, the neuo of Symeon the hie preist, vas sittand on 11 the hil of modin, ande his fiue sonnis besyde hym, callit

[\*leaf40 (60),back] tions. How Matathias Machabeus

Iohannam gaddes, symon thasi, iudas machabeus, eleazar abaron, ande iehonathan aphus, thir fiue bredir var soir

Ioseph' de anti. Li. 12. c. 8.

vepand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem. Than matathias there father said to them, vanhap! be on me, allace that euyr i vas borne, to see the distructione of my pepil, & the tribulatione of the holy cite of

18 iherusalem, quhilk is violentlye possest be my enemeis. ald ande zong ar slane on the reuis but mercy, & the remanent of the cuntre ar in captiuite, or ellis fled to the strait montanis for refuge. allace, quhat bettir vil

exhorted his five

SOD A.

22 ve be to lyue ony langar, considerand of this myschief that is fallin on oure cuntre. Allace, my fiue sonnis, i praye 30u to be 3claturs of the lau of gode, ande to gyue your saulis for the alliance of your foir fathers,

26 ande remembir of the verkis thai haue dune to there generations, ande than 3e sal resaue grite gloir ande Genesis 22. Gene. 41. eternal name. tak gode for 3our protector, ande 3e sal prospir. vas nocht oure father Abraham faythful in temptatione, quhilk vas repute til hym for iustice?

[\* leaf 41 (61)]

31 Ioseph keipit the command of the lau, quhen he vas per-

secutit, there for he vas maid lieutenent to pharon Gene. 4. kyng of egipt. phinehes oure foir father vas maid hie preist of the tempil for the zeil that he hed to the lau

of god. Iosue for the keping of his promis vas maid Iosue, 1.

captan of Israel. Dauid, for the pitie that he hed of 2 Samuel 2. the pepil that var affligit be the philistiens, conqueist 2 the royal sege of Israel. Ananias, Azarias and misael, Danyel 3. var delyuerit fra the flam of the fyir, throught the faitht that the hed to god. Danyel, throught his simplicite Daniel 6. and meiknes, vas delyuerit fra the throttis of the lyons. 6 Of this sort (o 3e my five sonnis) 3e may believe, that fra generation to generatione, that al that puttis there hope in god sal nocht be distroyit. quhen mata- and Judas was thias hed endit his miserabil and piteous regret, in deliver Israel, presens of his five sonnis, than his thrid sone, callit 11 Iudas machabeus, past athort the montanis and desertis, and gaddyryt to giddyr al the desolat bannest pepil, and vitht ane gryt curage, heffand hope in god, thai cam contrair anthiocus, and venqueist hym vailzeantly. and also venqueist al the israliates that var part takers 16 vitht hym; and ther eftir thai re formit the distruc- [\*leaf 41 (61),back] tione of the tempil, and vsit extreme punitione on the tratours and conspiratours, and thai gart extreme necessite becum prosperus vertu: for thai changit the dispayr 20 of mennis help in esperance of goddis help: quhar for, throught the mycht of god, venqueist men be cam conqueriours, and fugityuis be cam assailzeours, and humil affligit pepil of ane lytil nummer be cam lordis and maisters of ane gryt multiplie of tirrans. There is 25 ane vthir exempil of gedeon, in the tyme of the cruel Gideon also. oppression that the kyng of madian did on the pepil of Israel. gedeon, vitht thre hundretht men, discumfeist Indicum 8. ane hundretht and tuenty thousant men, and he delyuerit the remanent of the pepil of Israel fra captiuite 30 and misere, zit nochtheles he vas ane pure lauberar of lytil reputatione, and discendit of smal linage of the tribe of menasses. quhar for ve may persaue, that quhar the grace of god and the vertu of men ar coniunit to giddir, there is no leiful thing onpossibil to be exsecut. 35

When Darius invaded Greece [\* leaf 42 (61)]

1 And oft tymis god puttis in the pouer of men the thing that mennis vit can nocht beleue that it is possibil to be There is ane vthir exempil of darius kyng of perse, 'that entrit in grece vitht ane hundretht thou-5 sand fut men, and ten thousand men of armis. At that tyme thair vas gryt sedition and discentione amang al the gryt personagis of grece, quhair for athenes vas of ane opinion to randir them to darius, be rason that the grekis var diuidit amang them selfis. Bot nochtheles1 god sterit vp ane duc in athenes callit miltiades, quhilk, vitht ten thousand men, discumfeist al kyng darius

he was discomfited by Miltiades.

12 gryt armye, and delyuerit al grece furtht of captiuite.

Xerxes and his great host

Thair is ane vthir exempil, of xerxes kvng of perse, the sone of kyng darius, quha gadderit ane armye of thre scoir and ten thousand men of armis of his aven 16 realme of perse, and also he hed of strangearis that var his frendis, and of his allya, to the nummer of thre hundretht thousand men, as iustin rehersis; and also he brocht sa mony schipis to grece vitht al ordonnance, 20 quhilkis closit al the reueirs, quhairfor it vas moist lyk that he hed maid ane brig of tre to couner al the see. git nochtheles! his pride vas sune put doune; for le-

was checked by Leonidas and his four hundred.

armye of perse vitht four hundretht lacedemoniens, and [\*leaf42(62),back] escharmouschit xerxes gryt \*armye, and sleu tuenty

onides, kyng of lacedemonia, cam be hynd the gryt

26 thousand persuns betuix tua hillis. 3it nochtheles, the Passing to Athens remanent of his gryt armye past til athenes, quhilkis var reddy to be randrit til xerxces, throught the counsel of ane prince of athenes callit circisus, quha hed 30 secret intelligens vitht xerxes kyng of perse, quhilk vas

occasione that he seducit diverse grit personagis to rebel contrar athenes. bot the prudent themosticles vas contrair til his opinione (sayand) O nobil vailgeant pepil of athenes, 3e suld keyp the liberte of 3our cuntray, &

35 nocht 2 to thole the persons to be 30ur superiors; for

fra tyme that 20 be subject til xerxes, al 20ur honest 1 policie sal be aboleist, & al verteous industrie sal be brocht to nocht; for the persans sal do vitht your vyuis and cheldyr at there pleseir, as it is manifest quhou thai have dune til vthir partis of grece that is be was defeated nou in thair subjection: there for it is mair honest to 6 dee in the deffens of 3our liberte, nor to live lyik venqueist slauis in captiuite. Throcht the counsel of themistocles, al the atheniens tuke gryt curage contrar the gryt armye of perse, and also the vemen of the toune 10 stanet cyrsilus to deitht be cause of his euil counsel, by the skill of Than the atheniens and ther allya, be gryt vailgeantnes, assailet the persans be escharmouschis and incursions, quhil that exerxes and his gryt armye var con- Themistocles. strengeit to depart fra grece. of this sort god turnit the 15 hazard of fortoune, and tuke vengeance on xerxes gryt pryde, quhilk suld be ane gryt exempil til al princis, that thai gyf nocht? there trest in ane particular pouer of multiplie of men, bot rathere to set there trest in god: for xerxes, vitht four hundretht thousand men, 20 purposit til vsurpe the dominione of al grece; bot fra the tyme that the greikis accordit amang them selfis, ane sobir companye of greikis chaissit the persans furtht of grece. It is nocht2 sex scoir of zeiris sen the Consider how the inglismen var violent dominatours of mekill of Pic- chased out of cardye, and of al Normandye, Gascunze, guien, and of mekil of France; and the kyng of ingland vas crounit 27 kyng of France in Paris; bot, as god vald, he vas schamefully chaissit furtht of France, and his pepil slane doune be gryt multiplie. The exempil of the persecutione of oure auen cuntre is manifest til vs al, 31 quhou the inglismen var violent vsurpatours of al scot- They also usurped land, est, vest, and northt, quhar thai duellit paciablie, and vsit there auen 'lauis. thai biggit triumphand [\*loaf45(65),back] edeficis in al the burrous of scotland, as the grondis of

in the days of Edward I.,

1 there fundatione makis manifest presently at this tyme. kyng eduard, throught supple and trason of ihone Balzol and vthir scottis tratours, vas cronit kyng of scotland, vitht in the toune beruic; and the rychteous kyng of 5 scotland, Robert bruce, durst nocht remane in no pace-

but were driven out by Robert Bruce.

Ad generum cereris sine cede & vulnere pauci descendunt roges, & sicca Innonal.

Ambition and tyranny meet their doom, [\* leaf 44 (64)] as in Queen Semiramis.

Hercules.

Mithridates.

Regemen mitridates contra venenum.

bil place. he tint threttyne battellis contrar inglismen: then? he fled furtht of scotland to norousy to saue his lyue. 3it nochtheles god almychty? hauand pitie of our affligit cuntray, he restorit Robert bruce to the crone. 10 quha rycht4 vailgeantly brocht the realme in guid ordour, vitht gryt confusion til our ald enemis. exemplis 3e maye euidently persaue, that god almychty tholis nocht<sup>5</sup> violent vsurpatours of realmes to ring lang, bot rather he scurgis and distroys the tirrans, and mortetiranni. he restoris the affligit innocentis til ane guide stait. The famous historiographours and croniklis of al cun-17 treis makis manifest of the miserabil ruynis that god sendis on vrangus conquestours, quhilkis be ambitione and oultrageus pryde hes be thair tyranny inuadit vthir cuntrays, and eftiruart hes tint there auen cun'tray, and there self hes maid ane euil end. The queen semeramis vas nocht contentit vitht sirrie and babillon, 23 bot sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope and Inde; sche vas slane vitht hyr auen son. Hercules vas nocht content vitht the gryt cuntray of libie and of creit, bot vald pas to conques the occian see; than ane voman poysonit<sup>6</sup> hym vitht ane sark. Mitridates vas nocht content of his auen realme of pont, bot vald pas in batel contrar the romanis. he dred neuyr to dee bot 30 be poyson, quhair for he bure ay apon hym tuenty leyuis of reu, tua kyrnellis of nutis, & tua feggis, and ane lytil quantite of salt, the quhilkis he mixt al to giddyr, and thai mixtions he eit euyrie daye vitht ane fastan stomak, to keip hym fra poysonyng. that confectione vas callit to name eftiruart, antidotum mitri-

\* them 4 rytht 5 notht 1 breuic almythty 6 prysonit

dates, bot ait that drog culd nocht saue his lyif fra his 1 sone that sleu hym. kyng philip vas nocht2 content of Philip of the ryche realme of macedone, quharfor he past and perturbit al greice; bot syne he vas slane vitht ane of his auen sodiours. Grite alexander vas nocht? content Alexander the of al the varld, bot syne ane drynk of poyson gart hym be content of ane sepulture of five fute of lyntht or [\*leaf44(64),back] there by. xerxes vas nocht contentit of tua realmys, xerxes, perse and meid, bot ane of his officiaris contentit hym vitht ane dagar throught the hart. kyng cirus vas nocht 10 contentit of his auen realme, bot vald pas to conques sithia; 3it thomaris gart hym be content, quhen sche pat his hede in ane pipe ful of bluid, sayand til it, O cirus, thou culd neuyr be saciat of menis blude, bot nou cyrus, thou maye drynk thy fil of blude. Annibal, that Iustin. redoutit capitan, triumphit in conquessing of vthir realmis, bot in his last days he vas fugitiue fra al cuntreis, and for melancolve he poysonnit hym self. It is 18 nocht necessair to multiplie ouer mony of thir exemplis. there for, quha listis to reid the tragedeis of lucius seneque, or ihone Bocchas, in his buik of the ruuyne of Bocchas. nobillis, thai sal fynd al cruel vsurpatours of vthir cun- Seneque, in treis mak ane mischeuous ende. There for i hope in his tragedeis. god that vitht in schort days the protectour of ingland, will befall the and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the croniklis in as England. abhominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, callugala, or domician, the quhilkis maid ane mischeuous 27 ende, for the violent inuasions of vthir princis cuntreis but ony just titil.

and Hannibal.

1 tsiat s notht [leaf 45 (65)]

## The Actor declaris quhou the Englismen giffs bane credens to the prophesies of Merlyne.

#### CHAP. X.

Civitates a maioribus oivitatibus velud populorum examinibus condite, colonie nuncupantur. Augu. de ciui. doi. Li. 10. ca. The English have put forth a book claiming Scotland as originally a colony of England,

but realms are not conquered with books, but with blood.

This book says it is necessary for England and Scotland to be united into one country, and again called

The English give great credence to pretended prophecies of Merlin,

Britain.

this union.

HE oratours of Ingland, at there protectors instance, hes set furtht ane buik, quhair be thai intende to preue that scotland vas ane colone of ingland quhen it vas fyrst inhabit, there rasons that thai allege aperis to them to be inuincibil, quhou beit thai be bot freuol. there speciale intentione is to gar there cruel inuasions perpetrat contrar oure realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princis, that thai haue ane just titil to mak veyr contrar vs. and quhou beit that the said poietical beuk be dytit oratourly to per suaid the vulgar ingnorans til adhere til inuentit fablis contrar the just verite, 3it notheles realmis ar nocht conquest be buikis, bot rather be bluid. there is ane passage in the said beuk, the quilk the inglismen hes ane 15 ardant desyr to se it cum til effect. The tenor of the [\*leaf45(65),back] passage sais, that it var verray necessare for the veilfayre of ingland and scotland, that baytht the realmis var conjunit to giddir, and to be vndir the gouvernyng of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of bertan, as it vas in the begynnyng, quhen the troia $n^1$ brutus conquest it fra the giantis, and also the inglismen gifis ferme credit to diverse prophane propheseis of merlyne, and til vthir ald corruppit vaticinaris,2 to quhais ymaginet verkis thai gyue mair faitht nor to the pro-25 phesie of ysaye, Ezechiel, Ieremie, or to the cuangel: the who has predicted quhilkis prophane prophetis and vaticinaris hes affermit in there rusty ryme, that scotland and ingland sal be vndir ane prince. The ardant desire, and the disordinat auerisius affectione, that inglismen hes to be violent

1 torian

3 vaticiuaris

dominatours of oure cuntray, hes prouckit them to mak Therefore have cruel voyris contrar vs thir mony zeiris bypast, to that wars. effect that there diabolic prophane propheseis may be I hope the profulfillit, nocht regardand gyue the vil of god hes persiled in a differmittit be his diuyne gudnes that sic propheseis cum til which they expect. affect: Nor ait thai considyr nocht that al propheseis 6 hes doutsum and duobil expositionis. 3it nochtheles i hope in god that the rycht sens of there prophane propheaye sal be ful fillit in this generatione, and that [\*loaf 46 (66)] inglismen sal get there desire to there perpetual confusione. the inglismen exponis the prophesye of merlyne 11 to there auen affectione, as the iueis exponit the prophesie of cayphas. Cayphas of ane euyl intent spak The Jews intertreu prophesye; bot 3it he and the iueis interpret it to phecy of Caiaphas the vrang sens, quhilk vas cause of there auen condam-condemnation. nation. Of this sort, cresus kyng of lidie exponit and crossus misininterpret the ansuer of apollo to the yrang sens, quhen response of the cruel veyris vas betuix hym and cirus kyng of pers 18 and meid. At that time the tua gryt battellis of onnumerabil men of veyr var campit neir to giddir, except that the reueir of almy ran betuix them. morne, kyng cresus past to the oracle of appollo in the the oracle tempil of delphos, desyrand to knau the fyne of the Delphos. veyris that vas sa cruel betuix hym and kyng cirus. 24 Appollo gaue to kyng cresus ane doutsum ansuere of ambiguite. this vas his ansuer. cresus perdet almi "If Crossus cross transgressa maxima regna. This vord perdet is will destroy ane verb equiuocum; it signifeis to distroye, and it mighty kingsignifies to tyne, it is vritin in the fyft psalme of 29 Dauid, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. Praim v. 6. the expositione of this passage signifies nocht that god [\*leaf 45 (65), bk] tynis them that ar learis; for god can tyne na thing. there can no thing be tynt, bot quhen he that tynis ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is: bot god 34 knauis al thing. of this sort kyng cresus exponit the Cresus peransuer of appollo of ane sens, and appollo said his det almi transgressa

they made cruck preted the pro-

maxima regna.

and so brought mischief on himself.

ansuer of ane vthir sens. Cresus interpret that verb perdet for to distroye; and for that cause he and his 3 gryt armye past ouer the reueir of almi, in hope to distroye kyng cirus. bot cirus venquest cresus and al his gryt armye; the quhilk mischeif cam on kyng cresus for the yrang interpretatione of the ansuer of appollo; for he considerit nocht that perdet vas ane verb 8 equiuocum, quhilk hed ane expositione of ambiguite.

It happened similarly to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus,

There is ane syklik exempil of pirrus kyng of eporite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inquyre of the fyne of the veyris that vas betuix hym and the 13 dico te pirre romanos vincere posse. hym furtht of Italie.

[\* leaf 47 (67)] and to Ferrand. Earl of Flanders.

Augure is, ane person that tellis of thyngis that ar to cum, throucht the iugement that thai have of birdis vocis, & of ther fleing

So may it be with these prophecies of Merlin,

romanis. appollo gaue ane doutsum ansuere of this sort; exponit that verse of this sort, pirre, dico te vincere romanos. bot appollo said it of ane vthyr sort, pirre, dico romanos te vincere; as cam til effect eftyruart, for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, and chaissit There is ane vthir exempil of ferrand erl of Flauderis, quha maid mortal veyr contrar the kyng<sup>1</sup> of France. he, his mother and his vyfe, past til ane augure in holland, til inquyre of the fyne of the veyris betuix hym and the kyng of France. the augure ansuert, quod he, thou sal entir in Paris, quhair that gryte tryumphe and ioye sal be maid at thy entres. ferrand beand rycht glaid of the ansuere of his augure, he enterit in France vitht2 ane gryt armye; bot or he cam to Paris, he and his armye var venqueist, and he 28 vas tane presoner and led to paris. than al the parisiens maid gryt triumphe and ioye for blythtnes be cause that ferrand there mortel enemye vas disconfeist. sort, ferrand exponit the ansuere of his augure til ane vrang sens. Thir exemplis may be conferrit and applyit with the prophesies of merlyne, to the quhilk the inglismen giffis mair confidens nor that gif to the 35 euangel, be cause that there ald prophane propheseis

sais, that ingland and scotland sal be baitht vndir ane which say that prince. on this misteous propheseis, thai have intendit Scotland shall veyris contrar scotland, in hope to conques it. bot as i king; haue befor rehersit, i beleue that there prophe'sie sal [\*leaf 47 (67), bk] cum til effect, bot nocht to their intent, and that ing- so come to pass, land and scotland sal be ane monarche vndir ane prince way the English in this generatione, conformand til ane prophesie that i nor in this haue red in the inglis chronyklis, in ane beuk callit polichornicon, the quhilk prophesie sais, that ingland but, as foretold sal be first conqueist be the deynis, and syne be the chronicon, saxons, and thirdly be the Normandis; and there last ronguessing sal be conquest be the scottis,2 quhome 12 inglismen haldis maist vile; and fra that tyme furtht, ingland and scotland sal be bot ane monarche, and sal England and lyue vndir ane prince; and sa inglis men sal get there be ruled by a prophesie fulfillit to there auen mischeif.3

be under one

I believe it will but not in the generation;

in the Poly-

Scottish prince.

Quhou the pretendit Kyngis of Ingland hes no iust titil to the realme of Ingland, nothir be electione nor be successione, and quhou thai pretendit Kyngis of Ingland thes practikyt ane crafty dissait contrar Valis and Prland.

CHAP. XI. [AND XII.]

HIR vordis befor rehersit (O 3e my thre sonnis) These words suld prouoke 30u to tak curaige; ther for i vald your courage. that hope of victoree var augmentit, & dreed var banest fra 30u. vald 3e al perpend 30ur iust defens and [\*leaf 53 (68)] querrel, than hardines<sup>5</sup> and curage vald returne vitht in 21

ought to arouse

1 prophesels scoctis 3 mischeil 6 hrrdines

Examine the title of your persecutors:

they are the descendants of Bergest and Hengest, the twe Baxons.

who came to assist the king of Great Britain in his wars,

and treacherously dispossessed him.

Most of the English kings have murdered their prede-COSSOES :

King John was a murderer :

Edward II. and Richard II. perished miserably.

Richard III. slew the children of Edward [IV.].

Not one of them had a just title to England. much less to Scotland.

They have been your mortal

30ur hartis, and fyrst 3e suld considyr the pepil, and the titil of them that persecutis zou be on just veyris. 3 quhen 3e hef veil socht the verite, 3e sal fynd that it is the false blude that discendit of sergestes and engestes,1 quhilk var tua saxons that cam vitht aleuin thousand saxons fra thair auen cuntra to support and supple the kyng of grit bertanze, quhilk is nou callit ingland, quha vas opprest be cruel ciuil veyris. than eftir that thir tua saxons hed venquest the enemes of the kyng of 10 bertange, that trasonablie banest the rychteus? kyng and his posterite fra the realme, and sen syne that false blude hes possest that cuntre violently be tyrranye, and the maist part of thay tirran kyngis that hes succedit of that fals blude hes beene borreaus to their predecessours, as the cronikls of ingland makis manyfest, as of 16 henry the first of that name, quhilk vas banest fra the Siklik henry the thrid vas banest fra the crone be his second sone Richart. ihone kyng of ingland gart slay the heretours of his predecessours, and brukit the realme tuenty zeirs, and syne ther eftir he vas [\*leaf 53 (68), bk] ba nest, and eftir that kyng eduard vas gart dee meserablye in preson. syklik Richart the sycond vas cruelly slane be his auen men; and ther eftir henry the saxt 24 lossit his liyf be 3 eduard the thrid of that name. than eftir hym succedit rechart the thrid, quha gart sla the childir of eduard the thrid, and sa brukit the cuntre certan tyme, and ther eftir vas exilit fra the crone. and henry the seaynt, be the support and supple of the kyng of France, gat the crone of ingland; and sa none of them hed rycht4 to the crone of ingland: ergo, thai hef na titil to the crone of scotland. Al this veil considerit, suld inflam your hartis vitht curage to resist 33 ther cruel yrangus assaltis, & to menteine be vailgeantnes the just defens of your natyf cuntre. 3e knau quhou

> thai and there forbears hes beene your ald mortal 4 rytht s menteme 2 rythteus a de 1 eugestes

enemes tuelf hundretht zeiris by past, makand cruel enemies for veir contrar tour predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly years, distroyand zour feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra 3our genera- 4 tione; and there vas neuer faitht nor promes kepit be them, bot aye quhen ze beleifit til hef hed maist sure pace betuix 30u and them, than thai lay at the vatch, laying wait lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand 'quhil conspiratione [ • leaf 54 (69)] or discentione suld ryes amang 3ou. than be there austuce and subtilite thai 2 furnest vitht money baitht taking advantage the parteis aduersaris to slay doune vderis, quhilk vas sensions; ane reddy passage to gar them conqueis our realme vithtout straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly 14 Valerius maximus rehersis ane throught our cuntre. exempil conformand to this samyn purpos. quhen the atheniens and the lacedemoniens, quhilkis3 var the tua as Darius promaist famous tounis' vitht in the monarche of greice, quarrels of the thair raise ane discention and discord betuix the said Lacedemonians, tua tounis. than darius kyng of perse, quha hed euer ane ardant desyir to conqueis greice, be cause the greiciens hed euer been mortal enemes til hym and til 22 his predecessours, and speciale the toun of athenes resistit hym mair in his veyris nor did al the remanent of greice; for that cause he send his prouest tasifernes sending Tissovitht gold and silver to lacedemonia to furneis them in latter with gold there veyris contrar the atheniens. at that tyme, alcibiades vas bannest fra athenes, and excommunicat be the 28 prestis of there tempil, eftir the consuctude of there lau. than alcibia des past for refuge to the lacede-[\*leaf 54 (69), bk] moniens, quha var mortal enemes to the atheniens: he vas resauit rycht4 honorabilye, and gat gryt credit amang them, quhilk vas occasion that throcht his con- 33 sel, and throu the gold that the prouest tacifernes hed through which brocht to lacedemonia fra his maister kyng darius, Athenians.

of your dis-

fited by the Athenians and

phernes to the and silver,

they defeated the

<sup>1</sup> vacht 2 rhrai 2 quhilkis superfluous. 4 rosauit rytht

the lacedemoniens tryumphit contrar the atheniens. alcibiades persauand that lacedemonia vas aperand to be superior of athenes, he said to the procest of kyng

4 darius, schir, ze suld nocht furneis the lacedemoniens vitht sa grit quantite of gold and siluer contrar athenes; for gif athenes be conquest be the lacedemoniens, than the lacedemoniens sal be superiors of al greice; and fra tyme that thai be pacifil gouvernours of greice, and hes

Then, by advice of Alcibiades.

- 9 no ciuil veyris, discord, nor discention amang them, than doutles that sal intend veir contrar your maister darius kyng of perce, as there forbears did in alld tymis. there for i think it maist convenient that kyng darius furneis lacedemonia bot vitht sa mekil money as
- 14 may keip them on venquest be the atheniens, and als it var verray necessair that kyng darius furnest the atheniens vitht sa mekil money as may resist the lacedemoniens, and that sal gar al the cun'trey of greice

[\* leaf 58 (70)] he subsidized the hef perdurabil veyr amang them selfis, and than kyng Athenians also,

darius may eysily conqueis greice, vitht litil dommage 20 to his cuntrey. the procest of darius adherit to the counsel of alcibiades, and send nocht sameikil monye to the lacedemoniens as mycht gar them conqueis 25 of that samyn sort he send money to athenes to defend

and so had his purposes served by both parties.

So Henry VIII. professed neutrality between Charles V. and Francis IV.,

athenes, nor git he send nocht so litil money that throcht necessite thai suld leave or desist fra the veyris. them contrar the lacedemoniens. and sa, be the counsel of alcibiades, darius kyng of perce conqueist mair of greice, vitht ane hundretht tallentis that he distribuit secretly amang the grecians, to menteine2 there civil veyris, ilk ane contrer vderis, nor he conquest be forse, vitht ten thousand tallentis. As harv the eycht kyng of ingland did to the empriour & to the kyng of France<sup>8</sup> in the zeir of gode ane thousand five hundretht tuenty foure zeris: he professit hym self to be neutral, bot zit 35 he furnest the empriour vitht sex thousand fut men, and tua hundretht lycht horse, on his auen expensis, 1 quhen the kyng of France vas past ouer the alpes to seige paue, ande alse that samyn kyng hary lent to the while secretly kyng of France aucht scoir of thousandis engel noblis, of 'the quhilk the empriour vas surly advertest; for [\*leaf 55 (70), bk] quhen the kyng of France ande his armye var deffait as was discovered be the duc of Burbon, the viceroy of naples, the mar- Francis, quis of pesquaire, and the marquis of gonnast, thir said princis gat, in the spulze of the Frence<sup>1</sup> men, the<sup>2</sup> kyng 9 of Francis pose, quhilk vas al in engel noblis; ande alse that gat the kyng of inglandis preua vriting, quhilk he hed sende to the kyng of France at the seige of paue. of this sort the kyng of ingland playit vitht baytht the handis, to gar the empriour and the kyng of France ilk ane distroye vthirs. (O ze my thre sonnis) the discen- 15 tion & discord that ryngis amang 30u hes done mair distructione til our realme nor quhen the gryt armye & pouer of ingland inuadit 3ou. the experiens of this The English samyn is manifest, quhou that the kyngis of ingland glad enough to hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fauoir of scotland, have peace with scotland, when quhen iustice & concord gouvernit the thre estaitis of it was united and strong; scotland, nor tyl hef hed the fauoir & pace of al the riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in oppo- 23 sit, quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis discord, discentione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & diuisione, vitht in scotland, than thai forgit 3 fenget querrellis contrar our putting forward real'me, in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal enemye til his nychtbour. Quhar for i exort 30u 30u intestine dismy thre sonnis, that 3e be delegent to remeide 3our abusions of the tymis by past, quhilk sal neuir cum til Be diligent, then, effect bot gyf that 3e remoue & expel discentione, discourd. cord and hatrent that ringis amang 30u; for gyf 3e be enemeis to your selfis, than quhy suld the kyngis of ingland be accusit quhen thai intend veyris contrar 30u, considerant that thai hef bene euyr zour ald enemeis ? 35

subsidizing both:

their false claims, [\* leaf 56 (71)] only in times of

to remove the

What castle can be kept against besiegers, if mortal war reign among the defenders?

i vald spere quhat castel can be lang kepit, quhen the enemeis seigis it cruelly witht out, and witht in the said castel ther ringis mortal veyr amang the soudartis,

Remember also the valour of your forefathers.

men of veyr, quhilkis suld lyf in ane mutual & faytht-5 ful accord in deffens of the said castel contrar externe violens? this veil considrit, suld be occasione to gar 30u expel hatrent, divisione, & avaricius lyffing furtht of your hartis, & alse it suld prouoke you to remembir of the nobil actis of your foir fathers & predecessours, quha deffendit this realme be there vailgeantnes, & alse reducit there liberte, quhilk vas ane lang tyme in cap-

12 tiuite, be the machination of your ald enemes, as 3e may reid in diuersis passis of your cronikillis. And sen 30

[\*loaf 56 (71), bk] knau2 that god hes schauen sic fa uoir to 30ur foirbearis, throcht the quhilk thai hef venqueist thair enemes, and brocht the realme, be visdome & manhede, 17 in sykkyr pace, quhou beit thai var onequal, baytht in

and make you a mirror of their noble deeds.

England.

nummer & puissance, to your ald enemes, 30 suld mak ane mirrour of there nobil actis; for sen 3e knau2 that your ald enemes hes intendit to conqueis & to subdicu 30u to there dominione, nocht throcht there manhede 22 & visdome, bot rather throcht the discentione that

Peace with Scotland is more necessary than honourable to

ringis amang 30u, 3e suld schau 30u verteous & vailgeant in 3our rycht4 defence. for quhen 3e ar in accord, & lyuis in tranquilite, 3our ald enemes sendis ther imbassadours to desyre pace & fauoir, quhilk is mair necessari to them nor it is honest, considering of there grit pouer & mycht<sup>6</sup> be see & be lond. bot nochtheles, the mair reches that thai posses, the mair schame redondis 30 to them, & the mair gloir is 30uris, sen thai hef beene

venquist be 30u diverse tymes, quhome that held maist vile and febil. and nou, sen 3e knau the apering dangeir of your natif cuntre, 3e suld prudently consult to escheu al dangeir; and to begyn sic gude ordour, 30 35 suld prouide al vays to remoue discentione, sedetione,

1 feyr s knan 6 mytht s hneu 4 rytht 5 imbassadpurs

and auaricius lyffyng, quhilk may induce hatrent, inuy 1 and rancor amang 30u, to that effect that ilk persone [\* leaf 57 (72)] may lyf eysylye on his auen iust conques, and that among you innone of the realme hef occasione to do extorsions til extortion. vthyris; for sic gude pollycie, veil ordorit, sal cause the cuntre to increse in gloir, honour and reches, and dreddor to your enemes, quha ar verray solist and 7 vigilant to conques 30u. ther provisione of diverse sortis is vonder grit, nocht alanerly be gryt multitude of men Your enemies of veyr, and ane grit nauen of schipis be seey burde, army and navy; bot as veil be secret machinatione to blynd 3ou be auereis, presentand to 30u gold, siluyr, and grit promessis of heretagis, to persuaid 30u to commit traison 13 contrar 3our faitht, honour and comon veil, quhilk is ane rycht passage to bring 30u and 30ur posterite til ane vile & final exterminatione. vald 3e maturly consydir the subtilite of inglismen, 3e sal fynd them aperand faithtful and humain in thair adversite; bot quhen they are tyranta, thai ar in prosperite, thai ar ingrat tirrans and cruel all other nations. abuf al vdir natione. Och! quhou dangerus is it til 20 ony sort of pepil til hef ane cruel tirran ryngand abuf them: and to eschaip sic tirranny your forbears hes How your foredebatit your cuntre this mony seiris be grit manhede the tyranny and visdo me, quhou beit it was in dangeir to be in final [\* loaf 57 (72), bk] euersione. the croniklis vil certifie 30u quhou that 30ur 25 nobil predecessours and foir bears var slane, and the comont pepil brocht to vile seruitude ane lang tyme be and slavery of the saxons blude. and zit sic calamite and persecutione indurit bot for ane tyme. for god almychty,2 that knauis zour iust defens, hes euer schauen gryt fauoir touart 30u, therfor 3e suld tak curage in 30ur iust quer- 31 rel. 3e hef no cause to dispayr for falt of supple, for 3our predecessours hes been in mair dangeir quhen 3our They were harder strynthis and castellis has nocht been sa defensabil, nor you are, git the cuntre heffand supple of na forane prince.

and cruel above

1 thee

and subjected for 40 years;

1 tideous to rehers the grit calamiteis, the sair battellis, and the cruel slauchtyr that vas cruelly exsecutit on scottis1 men; and to conclude, al the cuntre vas in extreme subjectione fourty zeirs, and possest be our ald But nochtheles, god almychty<sup>2</sup> valknit vitht 6 his grace the hartis of your predecessours, as he did to

sampson, Dauid, and iudas macchabeus, contrar the

enemes of Israel, quhair for al 3our cuntre vas delyuerit fra captiuite, to the grit domage of reches, and effusione

[\* leaf 58 (73)]

but God delivered them.

> of blude on your ald enemes. 3e vait veil that the civil 11 and intestyne veir, and the discentione and discord and

Your enemies would not again have troubled you had not your discord opened the way.

rancor that ryngis amang 30u, is the speciale cause of the inglisme[n]is inuasions and of your miserite; for gour ald enemes, quhou beit of ther puissans, vald neuer

**Beflect** before your ruin be Anal.

hef maid sic incursions ande hairschips on the bordours and limitis of your cuntre, var nocht your selfis maid ane 17 reddy passage to them throcht the occasione of 3our auen discentions that ryngis amang 30u, ther for it is

22 the discention that ryngis amang 30u, he vil tret, cheris,4 yourselves enslaved, your wives and

necessair that 3e sal's perpend that sic discentione be nocht the cause of zour auen distructione and final ruyne of 3our natione. the kyng of ingland knauand

and promes grit reches til ony of you that vil adhere til hym contrar gour comont veil; bot fra tyme that he get dominione of the cuntre, 3e sal be his sklauis in extreme seruitude, 30ur vyfis and dochteris be deflorit be the onbridilit lust of your ald enemes, and violently led

your property anizad.

daughters

ravished,

28 auay befoir 3our facis be the extreme lauis of the veyr. 30ur gold and siluyr, and vthir gudis, public and privat, sal be distribut and disponit among them, the frutis and cornis of your grond to be vsit at ther dispositione,

[ leaf 58 (78), bk] and 3e sal be compellit to laubir the naikyt feildis vitht 3our auen handis to there proffet. 3e sal nocht alanerly be iniurit be cuil vordis, bot als 3e sal be

4 tretcheris

6 doctheris

35 violently strykkyn in 3our bodeis, quharfor 3e sal lyf in

1 scoctis 2 almythty 8 thai zeal mair thirlage nor brutal bestis, quhilkis ar thirlit of 1 And ony of 30u that consentis til his fals conques of sour cuntre, se sal be recompensait as sour for- Bear in mind the bears var at the blac perliament at the bernis of ayre, quhen kyng eduard maid ane convocatione of al the nobillis of scotland at the toune of ayre, vndir culour of faitht and concord, quha comperit at his instance, nocht heffand suspitione of his tresonabil consait. than 8 thai beand in his subjectione vndir culour of familiarite. he gart hang, cruelly and dishonestly, to the nummer where Edward I. of sexten scoir of the maist nobillis of the cuntre, Tua score of your and tua ouer ane balk, the quhilk sextene scoir var cause that the inglismen conquest sa far vithtin 30ur 3e may reid the croniklis of al cuntreis, and 14 ze sal fynd, that quhen forain princis hes violentlye, but iust titil, gottin dominatione on vthir cuntreis, than Foreign conin the begynnyng thai haue tretit and flatterit the deceitful and principal inhabitans, quhil on to the tyme that thai var cruel: pacebil domina tours: and there eftir thai haue vsit [\*leaf 59 (76)] there dissymilit intent on the pepil, and hes distroyit 20 them, as kyng eduard did at the bernis of ayre befor re-There is an exempil conformand to this samen Titus linius purpos rehersit be valerius maximus, and in titus Libro. 1. liuius, quhou that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of witness the case rome, quhilk maid cruel veyre contrar the cite of gabine proud, when til hef hed it subdeuit to the dominione of rome. bot against Gabini. that nobil cite deffendit there liberte rycht vailzeantly. his sone sextus tarquinus vas in grit melancolye be cause his father culd nocht conques that cite be fors, 29 nor be love, nor zit be flattery. ther for he departit fra his father vitht ane fenzet displeseir, and past to the cite of gabine, makand ane pitteus complaint? on the crualte of his fader contrar hym, prayand to them of gabine that thai vald be his deffens contrar his father. and he sal be subject to that cite in perpetual. the 35

Borns of Ayr,

murdered sixteen leaders.

of Tarquin the

1 rytht s complanit 3 imperpetual

1 cite of gabine, throcht there facilnes, gef hasty credit to sextus tarquinus, and resauit hym and trettit hym be grit familiarite. than day be day be his fayr vordis, thai gef hym credens in sic ane sort, that al the pepil be cam obedient til hym. than he send ane of his [\*loaf 50 (74), bk] familiaris til his fader tarquinus superbus, declarand quhou he hed conqueist the fauor of al the pepil, desyrand his fatheris counsel quhou he suld vse hym to 9 hald them in subjectione. the messager of sextus past to tarquine superbe, declarand his message, quhar he gat ald tarquine in ane garding, bot ald tarquine gef The dumb show, by which Tarquin nay ansuer to the messanger, bot tuike his staf, and syne past throcht his gardin, and quhar that he gat ony chasbollis that greu hie, he straik the heidis fra them vitht his staf, and did no thyng to the litil chasbollis. 16 the messengeir gat nay ansuer be tong fra ald tarquine bot returnit til gabine til his maister sextus tarquinus,1 quha askit ane ansuer of his message, the messenger tald quhou his father send nay ansuer be tong, bot past vp and doune his gardyng vitht his staf cuttand doune 21 the hie chasbollis. than sextus tarquinus kneu veil his fatheris mynd, that his counsel vas to strik of al the hedis of the principal men of the cite of gabine, and than the remanent of the pepil durst nocht reuolt contrar hym. of this sort the nobil cite of gabine vas dis-26 auit be flatterye and facilnes of gyffing credit til ane tirrane. sextus tarquinus vsit his father counsel, for he 'distroyit and sleu al the principal lordis of gabine, as kyng eduard did to the lordis of scotland at the bernis The onfaithful cruel act that kyng henry the

should be done to the chief men.

intimated what

[\* leaf 60 (75)]

Take warning by the treatment of Ireland and Wales.

aucht vsit contrar yrland and valis quhen he becam

ther superiors, suld be mirrour and ane exempil til al scotland: for he vsit the samen practik contrar irland and valis as sextus tarquinus exsecut on the cite of 35 gabine, and as kyng eduard exsecutit on the barrons of

scotland at the bernis of ayre: for quhou beit that the Even though the kyng of ingland nou present be discendet of the blude England to of of valis, 3it nochtheles the pepil of valis ar in sic subiectione that thai dar neuer ryde bot iiij to giddir, and 4 als that nane of them sal cum vitht in the mane cuntre of ingland vitht out ane certificat fra the sc[h]eref to gar it be knauen that thai hef sum speciale byssynes vitht in ingland. and als ther sal nane that is borne in [1 ther] valis beyr office in valis, nor 3it in ingland. and alsa the Welsh are the principal men of valis ar subject to pas to the kinds of veyris in propyr person contrar scotland or contrar France ouhen euer that ar chargit be the kyng of ing- 12 landis lettris. Bot at the first apoyntement that vas accordit betuix the kyng of ingland and the lordis of 'valis, he promest them grit liberte, quhil he hed re-[-leaf 60 (75), bk] sauit the castellis and strynthis of valis, and hed put inglis captans in them. bot incontinent ther efter, he 17 gart strik the heidis fra al the lordis of valis, and fra the principal barronis. and syklik to spek of irland, so have the quhen the kyng of ingland vas accordit with the lordis pressed Ireland; of irland, and that he hed resauit ane certan of castellis, and sum of the principal tounis, than ane lang tyme eftir he tretit the lordis of irland vitht fayr vordis, and 23 gef them riche gyftis, quhil he be his subtilite gart tue[1]f of them cum to london, quha cam at his command, be cause that dreid na cruelte. than incontynent of which the he gart strik the hedis fra the said tuelf lordis of irland. been beheaded, and sen sine al the irland men ar sklauis til hym, ex- and the people cepand ane certan that kepis them sel on the strait montanis of irland, quhilkis vil nocht obeye to his 30 tyrranye, for thai hed rather remane in cald and hunger except those that in the vyild forestis ande hillis at there liberte, nor for refuge in the to be in his captiuite to be hangit and hedit as he hes dune causles til mony vthyr innocent men. The extortione that the kyngis of ingland hes dune to your pre- 35 decessours, is manifest to 30u al. the chro'niklis makis [\* loaf 61 (76)]

subjected to all

have found wilds.

96

King Edward overran Scotland and compelled your forefathers to render homage.

He invaded Scotland with 100,000 men.

bringing one Conraldus, a friar, to write a chronicle of his acts.

Before Bannockburn he made sundry statutes.

as to how he would deal with Scotland,

after gaining the victory.

manifest quhou that kyng eduard, eftir that he hed ouer run al zour cuntre, and hed brocht al the pepil til extreme captiuite, guhar for compulsione and necessite causit them til obeye, and to mak homage til ingland. than the crualte of this said kyng eduard, nocht satesfet nor saceat, he brocht fra ingland ane hundretht thou-7 sand men, and als he brocht ane freir vitht hym callit conraldus, the quhilk freir hed commissione to mak ane chronikil of the actis that kyng eduard and his hundretht t[h]ousand men suld do in scotland. this said grit armye of ingland beand befor bannochtburne. kyng eduard maid ane perlament vitht in his camp vitht ane certan of statutis & ordinance, quhilk vas put 14 in vryit be the said freir. This was the tenor of the said ordinance, in the fyrst, he ordand thre vaupynschauyngis to be maid al on ane day in scotland be scottis? men in thre of the farrest placis of scotland, as in til the marse, in gallouaye, and in the northt of scotlande, and at thay vappynschauyngis, al the 20 vaupynis and armour of scotland to be delyuerit to the inglismen to be kepit in castellis quhil on to the tyme that the kyng of ingland intend to mak veir aganis [\* loaf 61 (76), bk] vthyr \*cuntres. the nixt statut he ordand that na scottis man suld veyr na vaupyn bot ane knif of fife inche of lyntht, vitht out ane point. in the thrid statut, he 26 ordand that na scottis man suld duel in ane house that vas loftit, bot rather in ane litil cot house. in the ferd he ordand that na scottis man suld veir ony clais bot hardyn cotis. in the fyft artikle he ordand that the scottis men of scotland suld be partit in thre partis. 31 the first part suld remane in scotland, to laubeir the cornis on the grond, the sycond part suld be send in ingland to be seruandis to laubyr thair grond. and the thrid part of them of the best lyik men suld be banest

1 brotht

35 fra scotland, and to hef ane lecens to pas in ony straynge

\* scoctis

cuntre to seik ther gude auenture. This cruel ordin- 1 ance vas maid in the kyng of ingland campt befor bannochtburne. 1 he beleifit at that tyme that al vas his He believed, at auen. than god almychty 2 quhilk beheld his pryde and was his own. arrogance and his onmerciful intent, he valknyt vitht 5 his spreit the hartis of the nobil men of scotland, the quhilkis in ane feu numer cam vitht ane hardy curage contrar kyng eduard, and sleu thretty thousand of his but he was men, and chaissit hym self thre scoir of mylis vitht in \*And in ther returning hamuart, thai vaistit [\*leaf 62 (77)] and brynt northt humyrland and mony vthir plaicis of 11 ingland. this battel vas fochtyn at bannochburne,3 as the inglis croniklis rehersis mair large. then quhan the tentis, pailzons, & spoulze of the inglis armye vas tane Among the spoil, & gaddrit vp be scottis men, thai gat the forsaid inglis Friar Conraldus freir conraldus vithtin kyng eduardis tent, & als thai captive, with gat thyr forsaid artiklis & ordinance quhilk the inglis- against the men purposit to execut on the scottis men. bot inglis- scota. men tuik nocht god to be their cheiftane, bot rather 19 vsit there auen arrogant mynde; therfor their gryt pouer hed na grace to fulfil ther entreprice. this ex- These exemplify empil is vondir probabil that inglismen vil vse this which will be samyn crualte on 30u al, gif sa beis that 3e cum subject you. to them. 2e knau that thir tuelf hundretht 3eirs thai leit you neuvr hef pace xvi zeir to giddir, bot zit ther 25 tyrranye redondit aye to their auen dishonestye and domage. and quhou beit at sum tyme 3our cuntre gat Incerti sunt grit skaytht be them, sic thing suld nocht gar 30u tyne gnarum 30ur curagis, for the chancis of veir ar nocht certan to marsque est na party. 4al thir vordis befor said ar rehersit, to that sepe spolianeffect that 3our facilnes be nocht sedusit be ther astuce tom iam & and subtil persuasions. Titus liuius rehersis ane ex- [\*leaf 62 (77), bk] empil in his nynt beuk conformand to this samyn percutit ab purpos, quhilk vas eftir the fundatione of rome 420 abiecto. zeris. at that tyme their vas in rome tua consulis, ane mile.

utterly routed.

the cruelty used towards

exitus pucommunis qui exultantem overtit &

<sup>1</sup> bannothtburne s almythty 5 bannothburne 6 CHAP. XII., not distinguished in the original, should probably begin here. COMPLAYNT.

Titus livius Lib. 9.

Valerius maæimus. Libro 7.

Fow the Roman army was abut up by the Samnites in the narrow pass of the. Caudine Forks.

callit titus viterius, and the tothyr callit spurius posthumus, quha var committit to be cheiffs and captana 3 of the armye of the romans, to pas contrar the samnetis, quhilkis hed maid mortal veyr thertty zeir to giddir [con]trar rome. the captan of the samnetis vas callit

[con]trar rome. the captan of the samnetis vas callit pontius, quhilk was the sone of ane vailgeant man callit hereneus, quha was exempit fra the veyris, and fra the gouernyng of the public veil, be raison of his grit aige.

The grit armye of the samnites campit them secretly besyde ane place callit furce caudide, the quhilk place hed ane narrou entres & narrou isching, and vitht in it their was mony cragis and vyild treis. that place stude 13 betuix tua strait montanis inhabitabil and onmontabil.

In the myddis of it their was ane large grene plane feild, than quhen the samnetis war their logit and campit, that war advertist be ther exploratours and spyis, quhou that the romans war campit neir them in 18 ane place callit calacia, than pontius the captan of the samnetis causit ten of his knychtis to cleitht them lyik hyrdis, and he gef them cattel, nolt, ande scheip to keip, giffand them command to pas vitht the cattel

on the feildis be syde the romans, and ilk ane in ane 23 syndry part be hym self, sayand to them, gif ony of the romans cumis and inquiris at ony of 30u quhair our armye is campit, 3e sal ansuer, that we ar past to apuilya to gif ane assalt to the cite of lucere, quhilk partenis to the romans. than thir neu maid hyrdis past

28 vitht bestial, quhar thai var re[n]contrit be the forreours and exploratours of the romanis, quha led them al ten befor the tua consulis that var captans to the romans. quhen thir ten hyrdis var exemnit seueralie ilk ane be hym self, quhar the samnete armye vas campit, thai

33 answerit as ther captan pontius hed giffin them command; to the quhilk vordis the romans gef credit, be rason that that all beand one be one examinit condis-

Wane hi-

cendit in ane ansuer, than 1 the romans heffand sic ane storiam corferuent loue to the cite of lucere, quhilk vas of their an-roborat.
Titus limius ciant alva, thai raisit ther camp to pas to reskeu lucere fra the samnetes. ther was tua passagis to pas betuix 4 the romans camp and lucere. the first passage vas plane and plesand be the see syde, bot it vas ouer lang about. [\*leaf 65 (78), bk] the nixt passage vas ful of roche cragis, and verray strait and narou, bot ait that passage vas verray schort. than the romans, for haist that the hed to saif that cite 9 of lucere,2 thai tuke that narrou strait passage, and guhen thai var entrit in it, the samnetes be grit subtilite hed gart cut doun grit treis, & brac doune roche cragis, quhilkis thai pat in grit numer at the entres and at the ischyng furtht of that strait passage, and als thai 14 set mony of ther men of veir amang the cragis to empesche the romans that thai culd nothir returne, nor git to pas forduart. quhen the romans var disauit of this sort, thai var lykly to dispayr for the displeseir3 and melancole that affligit them. bot the samnetes var 19 vondir glaid fra tyme that thai hed the romans in that pundfald, guhar thai culd nothir fecht nor fle, deffend nor resist, bot on verray neid thai behuffit to remane vencust vitht out straik or battel, the samnetes beand in this grit blythtnes be cause of ther happy chance, 24 thai determit to send ane message til ald herenius, guha vas the father of ther captan pontius, til hef his opinione and consel quhou thai suld vse them contrar the romanis that thai hed closit vithtin them. this ald [\* leaf 64 (79)] herenius send his ansuer and consel, and bald the How the Samsamnetes gyf the romans ther fre liberte to pas hame what they should saue, vitht out hurt of ther honour, bodys or guidis. do with their captives. the armye of the samnetes nocht beand satesfit nor contentit of this ansuer of herenius, thai send the messenger agane til hym til hef ane bettir consel. than ald herenius send ane vthir ansuer, and bald them slave al 35

1 than

2 lutere

3 displesier

of Herenius

1 the romans, and nocht to lat ane of them return vitht ther lyif. quhen the samnetes herd the tua discordabil consellis of herenius, thai culd nocht meruel aneucht1 of his onconstant ansuer, quhar for pontius his sone suspekit that his father dottit in folie throcht his grit 6 aige, zit noththeles he vald nocht conclude na exsecutione contrar the romans quhil he hed spokyn witht his father: therfor witht the consent of the samnettes, he send for his father to cum to their camp, quha cam at his command in ane charriot, be cause he mycht? nothir 11 ryde nor gang be cause he vas decrepit for aige. he beand aryuit, his sone pontius sperit quhou he suld vse hym contrar the romans that var inclosit betuix the tua The two counsels strait montans. the ald herynyus changit nocht his tua fyrst consellis that he hed send to them: bot git he de-[\*loaf 64 (70), bk] clarit 'to them the cause of thyr tua defferent consellis, 17 sayand; my sone pontius, and 3e my frendis of samnete, the first consel that i send to you the quhilk i think for the best, that is to say, i consellit you to thole al the romans and ther guidis depart saifly in liberte but ony hurt or displeseir; than throcht3 that grit benefice 22 that 3e hef schauen to them of ther free vil & vitht and guide mynde, thai vil allaya them vitht 30u, quhilk sal cause ferme and perpetual pace to be betuix rome and samnete. the tothir consel that i send to 30u, i ordand are disregarded 30u to slay doune al the romans, and nocht to saif ane 27 of them, for than it sal be ane lang tyme or the romans can purches sa grit ane armye contrar 30u. & sa 3e maye lyif in pace and surete ane lang tyme, considerand that the grit pouer and the maist nobilis of rome ar in this

and a middle course chosen.

32 sellis is necessar to be vsit, and the thrid consel can nocht be gifin to 30u for 30ur veilfair. than pontius and the princis of samnete nocht beand contentit of thir tua consellis, inquyrit at ald herenyus, sayand, ve think it s mytht 1 aneutho \* throtht

present armye inclosit to giddir. ane of thir tua con-

bettir to tak ane myd vaye betuix vs and them to saif 1 their lyiffis, and to resaif them as vencust pepil, and ther eftir ve 'sal mak strait lauis and ordinance quhilk ve sal compel them til obeye. ald herynyus ansuert, that sentens, says he, purchessis na frendis, nor it makis na reconsiliatione of enemes, therfor 3e suld 6 animaduert varly to quhat pepil that 3e purpos to vse sic iniurius rigor, for 3e knau the nature of the roman pepil is of sic ane sort, that gif thai resaif oultrage, and beis vencust be rigor be 30u, thai can neuer hef rest in ther spreit quhil that thai heif reuengit 30ur crualte, 11 for thai ar of ane vendicatife nature, and the displeseir that thai sal resaif be 30u sal euer remane in their hartis quhil thai hef revengit the iniurius defame that ze have perpetrat contrar1 them. thyr tua sentensis of herynyus var repulsit and nocht admittit, therfor he departit and 16 returnit in his chariot to samnite to end the residu of his days, the romans beand inclosit betuix thir tua montans, thai purposit mony maneyrs to ische furtht fra that strait place, & to pas to fecht in fair battel contrar the samnetes; bot al ther laubyr<sup>2</sup> vas in vane, 21 for thai var sa strait closit that thai culd nothir pas bakuart nor forduart, than thai send ther legatis to desire concord and pace at the samneties, or els to desire battel on the plane feildis. pontius ansuert to the [ leaf es (80), bk] legatis of the romans: quod he, the battel is fochtyn 26 al reddy; & quhou beit that ze ar al vencust, zit none of 30u vil confesse 30ur euil fortoune, ther for ve gif 30u for ane final ansuer, that al 30ur armye sal be spul- of the igno-3it of 3our armour and of 3our clais, except ilk ane sal imposed upon hef ane singil coit on 30u, & ther eftir ve sal put 30ur cragis in ane zoik to be ane perpetual takyn that ze ar vencust be vs, and also se sal delyuer til us the villagis, castellis, and vthir placis, the quhilkis 30ur predecessours conquest fra vs in ald tymis, and alsa ze sal lyif 35

[\* leaf 65 (80)]

1 contrat

1 and obeye til our lauis. and gif this ansuer vil nocht

content the romans, i gif you expres charge that se returns nocht heir agane, the legatis of the romans returnit to the camp of the romans witht the ansuer of pontius, the quhilk answer did mair displessir to the 6 romans nor that postius answer had been to ala them al cruelle; for in ald tymes ther culd nocht be ane gritar defame nor quhen ane mannis crag was put in the soik be his enemye, for that defame and punitions vas haldin mair abhominabil and vile nor the punitione that tree-11 passours indurit in the galeis for demeritis. bot zit ther was no remeid to saif the romans, therfor extreme [\* leaf 65 (81)] necessite vas resauit for vertu, than throcht the counsel of ane nobil romane callit lucius lentulus, thai congiendum madiscendit to chais the levst of tua cuillis, and til indure est eligendum. that vile punitione rather nor til hef been eruelly slane. than the cruel samnetes ordend the instrument of the 30ik of this sort as i sal rehers. ther was tua speyris set 19 fast in the eyrd, and one wthir speyr set & bundyn athort betuix the tua speyris that stude vp fra the eyrd lyik ane gallus. than the desolat and vencust romans var constrenget to pas vndir that goik ane and ane; bot the tua consellaris, quhilkis var captans to the romans, 24 thai var compellit to pas fyrst vndir that 30ik witht out their harnes or vaupynnis, than the remanent of the romans follouit ilk ane eftir his auen degre. on euerye syde of this soik ther was ane legione of the armye of

This was cruel punishment,

In duobus malis, fu-

jus, leuius

Clos. [ad]

Quintum fratrem.

but a still straiter yoke shall be put on the necks of **Rcots** who help England:

this defame and vile punitions of the samnites perpetrat contrar' the romans, vas verray cruel: bot doubtles, thai that ar participant of the cruel invasione of inglis men [\* leaf 66 (81), bk] contrar their natyue cuntreye, ther crag gis sal be put in ane mair strait 30ik nor the samnetes did to the

samnetes vitht ther sourdis drauen in ther handis. 29 quhar thai manneist and scornit the sillie romans that var in that gryt vile perplexite. O 3e my thre sonnis,

1 contrat

romans, as kyng eduard did til scottis men at the blac as King Edward parlament at the bernis of ayr, quhen he gart put the of his adherents craggis of sexten scoir in faldomis of cordis, tua and Ayr. tua ouer ane balk of the maist principal of them that 4 adherit til hym in his oniust querrel quhen he vrangusle brocht mekil of scotland in his subjections, this pro- The Protector tector of ingland purposit til vse this samyn crualte in tended to repeat the zeir of god ane thousand fyfe? hundretht fourty March, 1547, seuyn zeris, in the monetht of marche, quhen the vardan of the vest marchis of ingland cam to hald ane vardan when the English court on the vest marchis of scotland witht in the hold a Court in schirefdome of gallous, as scotland hed been in pacebil of Scotland, subjectione to the crone of ingland; bot, as god vald, 14 the maister of maxuel, the lard of drumlanrik,8 and diverse vthir nobil barronis and gentil men cam vitht ane hie curage contrar the inglismen, quhome thai ven- but he was quest vailgeantlye, and sleu ane grit part of them, and repulsed, tuke ane vthir part of them presoners, and chaissit the 19 thrid part of them ten myle vithtin ingland: and ther eftir the barronis & gentil men of ours vest cuntre gat and among the the inglismens spulze, witht in the quhilk spulze that spulze that gat tua barrellis ful of cordis, and euerie cord bot ane were found two faldome of lyntht, 4 vitht ane loupe on the end al reddy a loop ready maid, quhilk thai ordant til hef hangit sa mony scottis its victim. men as that purposit til hef venquest at that journay. Than to quhat effect suld only scottis men gif credens, 27 or til adhere til inglesmen ! our croniklis rehersis of diverse scottis men of al staittis that hes past in ingland, sum hes past for pouerte, and sum hes past in Many Scotsmen hope to lyue<sup>5</sup> at mair eyse and liberte nor thai did in England, for scotland, and sum hes been denunsit rebellis be the authorite, quhilk vas occasione that thai past in ingland for refuge, quhom the kyngis of ingland hes resauit<sup>6</sup> fameliarly, and hes trettit them, and hes gifin them gold and siluir, the quhilk he did nothir for piete 35

hanged 16 score

Warden came to

[\* leaf 67 (82)

have gone into poverty, &c.

1 brotht 2 fyse 2 doumlanrik 4 lyncht 8 lyne There are more than 2000 Scotsmen now in England,

in the world. but dare not own their nationality [\* leaf 67 (88), bk] or kindred.

In the south, they give out that they are from the north of England-in the North, that they are natives of Kent,

Londoners, &c.

Though the English king patronizes renegade Scots, he would be well pleased if every Scotsman had another in his stomach.

He uses them for his own ends, [\* leaf 68 (83)] as Augustus . Cmeer did Rhymirales:

<sup>2</sup> mentemia

<sup>2</sup> menteme

5 rytht

4 agust'

s anthoni'

1 nor humanite, bot rather that that suld help to distrove there agen natif cuntre. bot git he vald neuer gif them heretage nor credit, for the experiens of the samyn is manifest presentlye. for quhou beit that there be abufe thre thousand scottis men, and there vyfis and childir, that hes duellit in ingland thir fyftye zeir by past, and who have thriven hes conquest be there industre batht heretage and guidis, sit nocht ane of them dar grant that thai ar scottis men, bot rather thai man deny and refuse there cuntre, there surname, and kyn & frendis. for the scottis men that duellis in the southt part of ingland. thai sucre and menteinis that thai var borne in the northt part or in the vest part of ingland; and scottis men that duellis in the vest or in the northt of ingland, thai man sucre and menteine? that thai var borne in kynt schire, zoirke schire, in london, or in sum vthir part of the southt partie of ingland. than to quhat effect 18 suld ony scottis men adhere til inglis men, to gar them selfis be cum sklauis, and to remane in perpetual seruitude! ther for ve may verray veil beleif, that quhou beit that the kyng of ingland garris tret scottis men vitht gold and siluer as thai var his frendis, ait doutles he vald be rycht<sup>3</sup> glaid sa that euerye scottis man hed ane vthyr scottis man in his bellye. and als fra tyme that god sendis tranquilite amang princis, that that ar 26 maist familiar vitht the protector sal be haldin maist odius in ingland, and euerye inglis knaif sal cal them, dispytfully, renegat scottis; and gif ony of them passis to the protector, to regret and lament the abstractione of his familiarite that he scheu to them in the begynnyng of the vey ris, he vil ansuer to them as agustus cesar ansuerit til ane captan of thrace callit rhymirales, qua betrasit his maister anthonius, & past to remane vitht agustus4 cesar, quha vas mortal enemye til an-35 thonius. than be the supple of rhymirales, agustus

cesar ve[n]questantonius. than quhen the veyris varendit 1 betuix cesar and antonius,1 rhymirales vas nocht sa veil trettit as he vas indurand the tyme of the veyris, quhar for he past til cesar, sayand; O nobil empriour, i hef left my cuntre and my maister anthonius for your pleseir, and i hef been the cause that 3e hef venquest my maister 6 anthonius, & nou se schau me nocht sa grit loue and familiarte as ze scheu me in the tyme of the veyris, quharfor 30 haif schauen 30u rycht ingrat contrar me. Cesar ansuerit to rhymirales, i vil hef na familiarte he loved the vitht 30u, for i loue bot the trason that cumis to my suited his effect, and louis nocht the tratours that committis the the trator. trason. this forsaid exempil maye be veil applyit til al 13 scottis men that beleuis to get mair liberte and honor in ingland nor thai did in scotland; for this exempil hes been prectykit thir fyfe hundretht zers bygane til al scottis men that hes adherit til inglis men contrar 17 ther natyfe cuntre, as the croniklis 'makis manifest; [\*leaf 68 (83), bk] for quhou be it that the kyng of ingland louis the traison that scottis men committis contrar ther prince, git he louis nocht the tratours that committis the traison. 22

antoni

Quhou the affligit lady declaris til hyr thre sonnis that the familiarite that is betuix inglis men & scottis men in ane pace barld at mer: cattis and conventions on the tuabordours, is the cause of the traison that the scottis men committis contrar ther nature cuntre.

## CHAP. XIII.8

Your attachment to England arises chiefly from familiarity on the borders,

which is un-

[\* leaf 69 (84)] Different nations count each other barbarous.

No two nations more diverse than English and Scotch, though neighbours, and speaking the same tongue.

HERE is no thing that is occasione (O 3e my thre sonnis) of your adhering to the opinione of ingland contrar zour natife cuntre, bot the grit familiarite that inglis men and scottis hes hed on baitht the boirdours, 5 ilk ane vitht vtheris, in marchandeis, in selling and bying hors and nolt and scheip, out fang and in fang, ilk ane amang vtheris, the quhilk familiarite is expres contrar the lauis and consuctudis baytht of ingland and scotin the dais of moises, the ieuis durst nocht haue familiarite vitht the samaritanis, nor vitht the philistiens, nor the romans vitht the affricans, nor the grekis vitht the persans, be rason that ilk ane repute vtheris to be 13 of ane barbir nature; for euere nations reputis vthers nations to be barbariens, guhen there tua natours and complexions ar contrar til vtheris; and there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs nor is inglis men and scottis 18 men, quhoubeit that that be vitht in ane ile, and nychtbours,4 and of ane langage, for inglis men ar subtil, and scottis men ar facile. inglis men ar ambitius in prosperite, and scottis men ar humain in prosperite.

22 inglis men ar humil quhen thai ar subieckit be forse

1 so original; probably misread for baith in MS.
2 so original.
3 nythibours

and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai ar 1 violently subjekit. inglis men ar cruel quhene thai get They behave victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get prosperity and in victorie. and to conclude, it is onpossibil that scottis men and inglis men can remane in concord vndir ane 5 monarche or ane prince, be cause there naturis and conditions ar as indefferent as is the nature of scheip and They are as voluis. quintus cursius rehersis, that darius kyng of and wolves. perse send ane imbassadour to alexander kyng of ma- Alexander cedon, and 'offrit hym sax mulis chargit vitht gold, sa [\*leaf 69 (84), bk] that he vald lyue vitht hym in pace and concord vndir peace with him; ane crone and monarche. alexander ansuert to the im- Alexander bassadour, quod he, it is as onpossibil to gar me and they could no kyng darius duel to giddir in pace and concord vndir together than ane monarche, as it is onpossibil that tua sonnis and moons in the tua munis can be at one tyme to giddir in the firma-This exempil may be applyit to ingland and 17 scotland; for i trou it is as onpossibil to gar inglis men It is equally and scottis men remane in gude accord vndir ane prince, Englishmen and as it is onpossibil that tua sonnis and tua munis can be live under one at one tyme to giddir in the lyft, be raison of the grit sovereign. defferens that is betuix there naturis & conditions. quhar for, as i hef befor rehersit, there suld be na There ought familiarite betuix inglis men and scottis men, be cause familiarity of the grit defferens that is betuix there tua naturis. in ald tymis it vas determit in the artiklis of the pace be 26 the tua vardanis of the bordours of ingland and scotland, that there suld be na familiarite betuix scottis The old laws of men and inglis men, nor mariage to be contrakit betuix forbade any them, nor conventions on holy dais at gammis and England and plays, nor marchandres to be maid amang them, nor scottis men 'til entir on inglis grond witht out the kyng of ingland saue conduct, nor inglis men til entir on 33 scottis grond vitht out the kyng of scotlandis saue conduct, quhou beit that there var sure pace betuix the even during

differently in adversity.

unlike as sheep Darius offered six mules' burden of gold, to live at answered that more exist two suns or two heavens.

impossible for

therefore to be ne between them.

the Marches

[\* leaf 70 (%5)]

But during the past seven years, these statutes have been nullified.

Englishmen and Scotchmen have been dealing on the Borders,

and the king of England tampering with sundry Scottish gentlemen.

" A listening damsel and a parleying castle shall not end with honour."

between enemies begets treason.

Hannibal and other ancient captains acted upon this,

as did Jugurtha, been repeatedly defeated by the Romans in

Africa.

tua realmis. bot thir seuyn zeir bygane, thai statutis and artiklis of the pace ar adnullit, for there hes been as grit familiarite & conventionis, and makyng of marchandreis, on the bourdours this lang tyme betuix inglis men and scottis men, baytht in pace and in veir, as scottis men vsis amang theme selfis vitht in the 7 realme of scotland, and sic familiarite hes been the cause that the kyng of ingland gat intellegens vitht diverse gentil men of scotland. it is nocht possibil to keip ane realme fra conspiratione and trason, fra tyme that the pepil of that realme vsis familiarite vitht there 12 enemeis. ther is ane ald prouerb that says, that ane herand damysele, and ane spekand castel, sal neuyr end vith honour; for the damysele that heris and giffis eyris to the amourus persuasions of desolut 30ng men. sal be eysile persuadit to brac hyr chaistite. siklik ane 17 spekand castel, that is to saye, quhen the captan or sodiours of ane castel vsis familiar speche and com-[\* leaf 70 (85), bk] ionyng with there enemeis, that castel sal \*be eysylie Familiarity conquest, be rason that familiarite and speche betuix enemeis generis trason. in ald tymis, the vailgeant annibal, and vtheris grit captans, baitht romans and grecians, thai set mair there felecite to purches secret familiarite and comonyng vitht there enemeis, nor to get battel. for fra tyme that thai gat familiarite and 26 comonyng vitht there enemeis, than thai vrocht to bring there entreprice and intent to there effect, be trason, Salust de bello iugurtino and be gold and silueir. confermis this samyn purpos. quhen iugurtha of numiwho, after having die in affrica, hed tynt diverse battellis contrar the romans, quhilk vas occasione that he hed almaist lossit his cuntre, than his frendis consellit hym to decist fra his veyris, be rason that he prosperit nothing, and lossit mekil. than iugurtha, nocht beand disparit of 35 guid fortone, he past in Italie witht ane fresche armye

of men of veir, and also he tuik vitht hym ane riche 1 quantite of gold and siluyr, cunzet & oncunzet. than passed into his frendis reprochit hym be cause his entreprice aperit store of gold and to be vane, rather nor to procede of ane prudent & mortifet consait. iugurtha ansuert til his frendis, quod 5 he, my forse is nocht sufficient to conques rome, bot nochtheles, gif that i can purches secret familiarite & intelligens witht sum of the romans that hes authorite, i beleif to vengues them witht gold and syluyr rathere believing nor vitht forse of men of veyr, for euyrie thing is to sel everything to be in rome for monye: ther for i dout nocht bot i sal gar them sel there liberte for gold, for the auariese that is Avarice makes amang the romans vil gar ilk ane betraise vthers. Thir another. vordis of iugurtha makkis manifest that there is nay thing that bringis are realme to ruyne sa sune and sa 15 reddy as dois the familiarite that the pepil hes vitht there enemeis, throught the quhilk familiarite there is There is some sum euil persoune that knauis the secret determinations reveals the of the lordis of the counsel, & there eftir he reuelis it to the Scottish sum traisonabil man that hes intelligens with the kyng King of England. of ingland. i can nocht expreme ane speciale man that 21 perpetratis this traisonabil act, bot git i am sure that as When the Lords sune as the lordis of the counsel hes determit ony guide resolve on any purpos for the deffens & veilfair of the realme, incon- within twenty tinent vitht in tuenty houris there eftir, the sammyn counsel is vitht in the toune of beruik, & vitht in three and within three dais there eftir the post of beruyk<sup>2</sup> presentis it in london to the counsel of ingland, quhilk is occasione in London, that the inglismen hes there deffens reddy contrar our [\*leaf i (86), bk] English are purpos, or ve begyn to exsecut the counsel that was ready to thwart It var verray necessair that the committers before ever it is of that reuelen var punest mair realye nor hes been ony The revealers of punitione that hees been exsecut contrar ony scottis deserve severer man that hes cum vitht inglis men in plaine battel til punishment, than those who inuaid scotland. thir secret revelaris of the counsel of their own country

Italy with great ailver;

[\* leaf 71 (86)]

venal at Rome.

traitor that secret plans of Council to the

of Council matter. hours the full account of it is in days the Berwick post presents it whereby the the purpose these matters in open battle.

1 noththeless <sup>2</sup> bernik

They have not the heroism of Pompeius and Quintus Metellus.

Valerius maximus. Lib. 3. c. 3.

When the former was taken prisoner by a hostile king,

he put his finger in the fire and [\* leaf 75 (87)] suffered it to burn away, to show that no torment could Valorina maxim'. Libro. 7. extract from him the secrets of the Senate. Alas! there are Scotsmen who would reveal every secret of their country burn a finger of their glove! When Quintus Trebia,

he formed a secret plan to throw the Celtiberians off their guard.

scotland takkis nocht exempil of the tua vailgeant romans pompeus and quintus metellus, quhilkis kneu al the secre[t] of the senat, bot there was nothir gold nor 4 landis, tormenting nor pyne, that vald gar ony of them reueil the secret of the senat to the enemes of rome. valerius maximus rehersis, in the t[h]rid cheptour of his thrid beuk, quhou the romans send pompeus in imbassadre til aysia, quhilk vas of the allya of rome, and be chance he vas tane presoneir in his voyage be genthius the kyng of esclauonia, quha vas mortal enemye to the romans: the said kyng genthius coniurit, per-12 suadit, solistit, and alse he manneist nobil pompeus to reueil the secret counsel of the senat. pompeus behaldand his onrasonabil request, he pat his fingar in the heyt fyir, and tholit it to birn; and be the 'tollerance and paciens of that cruel pane, gentius kneu that there vas na torment that culd gar pompeus reueil the secret of the senat. bot allace, there is sum men that knauis the secret of scotland that vil reueil it til inglismen rather nor to birn the fingar of ther glufe. maximus rehersis ane vthir exempil quhou that quintus metellus beand proconsul of rome, vas send vitht ane armye in to spange contrar the celtibriens, quhilkis before they would duellit in the realme of nauerne. he set ane seige about the toune of tribie, quhilk4 is the methropolitane & Metellus besieged capital cite of that cuntre. that cite resistit and deffendit vailzeantly contrar quintus metellus. than he 28 beand in melancole be cause he culd nocht conqueis that cite, he deuisit ane subtil consait to desaue the celtibriens. he gart rais his camp and departit fra that cite, and past til vtheris diuerse tounis of nauern, sum tyme bakuart, sum tyme forduart, sum tyme he past to the montannis, and sum tyme to the valeis, and remanit neuer in ane stedefast place, and he gart al his armye 35 keip them in arraay. the cause of this agitatione and

1 enyeme 2 fyit 3 maxim 4 guhilki is

commotione of his army vp and doun, vas nocht knauen 1 be none of his men of veyr, nor 3it knauen be 'his [\*leaf 75 (87), bk] enemes, quhar for ane of his familiar frendis inquyrit a familiar friend hym of the cause of his inconstant vagatione, quha his plans; ansuert, quod he, decist and inquyre na mair of that purpos, for gif that i vndirstude that my sark hed knau- but Metellus lege of my secret, or of the deliberatione of my mynde, his own shirts doutles i suld birn it hastelye in ane bald fyir. than should know his quhen metellus hed vagit vp and doune there ane lang 9 tyme, and hed put his host and armye in ignorance, and his enemes in errour, eftir diverse turnand coursis athourcht1 the cuntre, he returnit suddanlye to the forsaid toune of tribie, and laid ane sege about it or his enemes var aduertest to mak deffens, and sa be this 14 dissimilatione, and be the keping of his counsel secret By keeping his fra his frendis and fra al vtheris, he conquest the said his object; vald god that the counsel and deliberatione of would God toune. scotland var kepit as secret as metellus kepit his secret do the same! fra his men of veyr, than doutles the inglis men vald nocht be so bold. There is na thing that is cause that 20 the counsel of ingland gettis sa haisty aduertessing of the privitate that is amang the lordis of scotland, bot the vice of auareis that hes blyndit the raison, & hes But avarice has infekkit the hartis of divers grit men of scotland. the of our great men: ald 'prouerb is treu that sais that it is as onpossibil to [\*leaf 76 (88)] gar ane auaricius man be faythtful, as it is onpossibil and the avaricious to gar ane fische of the depe flude speik hebreu or greik. Quhar for (o 3e my thre sonnis) i exort 3ou to tak ex- Take example empil of diverse nobil men that culd neuir be seducit from those noble men who could nor persuadit to tak gold nor reches fra there enemeis. not be seduced by gold! There is ane exempil of allexander kyng of macedon, quha hed mortal veyr contrar the grekis. he sende ane 32 riche present extendant til thre scoir of thousandis peces of gold, til ane nobil man of athenes callit such was phosion, ane man heffand gret autorite in athenes. of Athens,

would not that

secret, he gained Scotsmen could

infected diverse cannot be faithful.

1 athourths

1 Than phosion said to the inbassadours of kyng allex-

who refused the gold of Alexander,

corrupt his

virtue.

lest it should

Let your regard for the common weal precede private interest.

ander, quod he, my frendis, for quhat cause hes kyng allexander sende this riche present of gold to me alanerly, ande hes sende na thing to the remanent of the lordis of athenes? The inbassadour ansuert, our master kyng allexander hes sende 30u this present of gold, be 7 raison that he has jugit you to be the maist nobil ande maist verteous abufe al them of athenes. phosion ansuert, gyf that kyng allexander hes iugit me to be of grit prudens ande vertu, ze sal praye hym to thole me to remane prudent & verteous. for gyf i tak his present [\*leaf 76 (89), bk] of gold, than i \*am nothir prudent nor verteous, for there is no thyng mair repungnant 1 to prudens nor vertu, nor quhen ane person resauis gold or reches fra his enemee. there for 3e sal tel to 3our master kyng allex-16 ander, that he sal nocht corrupt me vitht gold. nor venqueis me in battel, nor zit he sal conqueis na thing in grece bot sa mekil eird as vil be sepulturis til his men of veyr. this exempil makkis manifest, that quhen ane prince presentis gold ande siluyr to the subjectis of 21 his enemei, doutles his intentione is to seduce them to conspire ande to betraise there native cuntre. quhar for i exort 30u (my thre sonnis2) that 3e detest auerese, ambicion, ande traison, ande that 3e gar 3our solistnes of the deffens of your comont veil preffer the solistnes of your particular veil: for quhen your particular veil is spulzeit or hurt be zour enemeis, it maye be remedit be

3our comont veil. ande in opposit, gyf 3our comont veil be distroyt, than it sal neurr be remedit be your particular veil, for 3our particular veil is bot ane accessor of your comont veil, ande the accessor follouis the natur of the prencipal. accessorium sequitur naturam 33 sui prencipalis.

1 regu: gnant

somnis

## Auhou the actor declaris that conspiratours [ leaf 77 (89)] ar av nunest to the detht be the princis that gat profeit of there conspiratione.

## CHAPTER XIIII.

HER is ane exempil, quhou that eftir the dolorus How after the battel of cannes, quhilk i hef oft rehersit of befoir, quhar that the nobil counsul emilius paulus vas slane vitht xiiii thousand of the maist nobillis of italie, quhen that annibal send to cartage thre muis of 5 gold ryngis, quhilkis he hed gottin on the fingaris of the maist nobil romans that var slane, for ane testimonial of his grit victorie. and eftir this dolorus battel, diverse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them to an- many Italian nibal, sum be compulsion, and sum be fre vil, be cause to the Carthagithat thai var disparit that the romans culd euer hef pouer to resist the cartagiens, & sum of them randrit 12 them be trason for monye that thai resauit fra annibal, as did the nobil cite of capee: 3it northeles inconstant among others foirton alterit the prosperite of the cartagiens, quhilk vas occasione that the romans be grit vailgeantnes recouerit & conquest diverse of ther agen tounis and [\* leaf 77 (80), bk] castellis fra annibal, quhilk vas grit blythnes to sa mony 18 tounis and castellis that vas onconquest be annibal. And als it was as ongrit blythnes to sa mony castellis and tounis quhilkis hed randrit them be trason to annibal. than thir nobil romans heffand grit affectione to be revengit on annibal for the grit slauchtir committit at 23 cannes, past vitht ane armye of xxxiii legions befor the toune of cape, and be grit industre thai maid tua lang depe fosses about al the toune in sic ane sort, that nane How Capus was of the men of veyr of cape culd ische furtht bot gif thai Romans. COMPLAYNT.

1 cam vitht in the romans camp. at that tyme fuluius flaccus vas captan and duc of the romans armye, the romans hed nocht monye hors to ryde in forrais and in prikkyng contrar ther enemes, bot the men of veir of capes as numydiens, quhilk annibal left in garnison 6 var veil furnest vitht grit nummir2 of hors, the quhilkis ischit furtht daly fra capes, and did grit domage contrar the romans. ther was at that tyme ane roman callit auius, ane centurion, quha diuvsit that the romans suld tak sa mony hors men as thai mycht<sup>3</sup> furneis, and to gar 11 tua men ryde on euerye hors, and euerye ane to hef ane

[\* leaf 78 (90)]

'lycht scheild and vij dartis in ther handis. than quhen the hors men of capes ischit to mak ane scarmouche on the romans, the hors men of the romans, tua on ilk hors, met and recontrit the cartagiens, and at ther met-

16 ing, tha that reid behynd4 on the hors discendit on ther fute vitht ther dartis. of this sort the romans on hors and on fute disconfeist the cartagiens of capes, be cause thai of capes kneu nocht of the subtilite that the romans hed ordand contrar them, the remanent of the carta-21 giens that var nocht slane fled vithtin the toune to saif

How the town was put to sack, them, bot al the romans armye follouit sa haistylye quhil thai gat entres vitht in the toune, and pat it to sac; and ther eftir the nobil consul fuluius flaccus past

and the chief traitors punished.

to the tribunal, & gart al the principal lordis of capes compeir, and than he gart bynd ther handis in iryn chenzeis, be cause of the trason that thai committit 28 contrar ther native cuntre, and syne he send ane certan

of them to be put in preson in the toune of theane, and ane vthyr certan to the toune of calles. than eftir that he hed put ordour to the maist vrgent byssenes of capes, he departit and past to theane and to calles, to gar exsecut iustice on the conspiratours of capes, quhar [\*leaf 78 (90), bk] he gart strik the \*heydis fra them of capes that var in

35 preson in theane, and syne past to calles to gar exsecut

1 munydiens 2 mummir s mytht • belynd

iustice on the remanent. he beand ther aryuit, he gart 1 bryng furtht the presoners to be instifiet. at that samyn How when instant hour, the senat ande faders conscript of rome received a letter send ane post in message vitht ane closit vryting to enjoining mercy, fuluius flaccus, chargeand hym to be mercyful, and nocht ouer rigorus in exsecutione of his iustice. he hef- 6 and suspitione of the contineu of ther vrytingis, and als heffand ane feruent affectione to puneis tratours, he re- he received it in sauit the vryting in his kar hand, and vald nocht apin and would not it nor reid it quhil the boreau hed strikyn the heydis prisoners were fra the presoneris of calles quhilkis hed conspyrit contrar capes. this exsecutione of iustice beand endit, he 12 apnit the vrytingis, and eftir that he hed red the contineu of it, he said to the post, my frend, this vryting is cum ouer lait and behynd the hand. of this sort the trature of capes var punest; for this nobil consul fuluius flaccus gart sla 25 of the maist nobillis of capes. 17 Siklik gif ther be ony of the tounis, villagis, or castellis would that we of scotland, that hes randrit them to be subjectis til Flacous to punish ingland be trason, i vald god that fuluius flaccus var those Scottish towns, &c., that diligat iuge to pu'neis them as he punest the conspiratours of capes; for the forsaid fuluius 1 flaccus gat as to England! grit commendatione for the extreme justice that he gart 23 exsecut on tresonabil tratours, as he gat for his vailzeantnes quhen he conquest the toune of capes fra annibal.

Pulvina Flacena from the Senate.

his left hand, open it till the

[\* leaf 79 (91)]

Ther is ane vdir exempil of the punitione of How Pausanias traturs, as thucidides the historien greik rehersis in the treasonable xv cheptor of his fyrst beuk, quhen pausanias, quha with Xerxes, hed commissione of the armye of the lacedemoniens. quhen he past to defend hellespont, he vas depriuit of 31 that dignite, be cause he hed intelligens vitht the enemeis of greice. than he beand deprivit, he of ane profond maleis departit fra lacedemonia, and gart the pepil beleif at his departing, that his purpos vas to pas 35

1 to hellespont to be an esodiour for the deffens of that cuntre, be rason it was ane of the subjectis of greice1. bot notheles his purpos vas to pas to the kyng of meid. quha vas mortal eneme to al greice, in hope to conueen and accord witht the said kyng of meid contrar the 6 greikis. than to mak his traison mair patent, he send ane certan of presoners of meid to the kyng, and he [\* leaf 79 (91), bk] gart the bruit gang that thai presoneris hed 'eschaipit & brokyn the preson contrar his vil, the quhilk presoneirs he had conquest of befor furtht of the cite of bizante, quhen the kyng of meid hed left them in garnison to kep the said cite fra the grekis; & also he vreit ane lettir to the kyng of meid, as eftir follouis.

T Pausanias duc of spart, to the kyng xerxes salut.

and wrote him the following letter.

14

i hef send to the thir presoners, the quhilk i hef conquest in fair and honest veyris, contrar the quhilk present i hef send to the to that effect that i maye conques thy loue & thy fauoir; and als i am of ane intentione 19 to spouse thy dochtir, gif it be thy pleseir: therefor, gif thou vil consent to this mariage, i sal put al greice in thy subjectione; the quhilk i can do rycht2 eysylie, sa that i can hef intelligence & familiarite vitht the. quhar for, gif thou be content of my desyre, thou sal 24 send ane of thy maist familiaris, to communicat mair ample of this byssynes. Quhen exerxes hed red this vryting of pausanias, he send ane ansuer in vreit vitht ane of his familiar frendis callit artabasus, to quhome he gef commissione til accord vitht pausanias. this vas 29 the tenor of exerxces vryting. Kyng exerxes of meid to pausanias salut. i thank the of the pleseir and be-'nefice that thou hes dune to me in the sendyng hame the presoners quhilk thou conquest in my cite of bez-

ance, the quhilk i nor myne sal neuer forzet quhil ve dee. i exort the that thou be solist nycht4 and daye til 35 exsecut and to fulfil thy promes, and i sal nocht spair

s rytht

1 original has rome

3 Dersoners

4 nytht

To which Xerxes replied.

[\* leaf 80 (92)]

gold syluyr nor men of veir to be at thy command; 1 and as to my dochtyr, i assure the that sche sal be thy spousit vyf. thou 1 sal gif credence to this berar artabasus, quha is my secretar and my speciale frend. Quhen pausanias hed resauit this vryting fra exerxces Howhis dealings kyng of meid, he began euere day to prattik his intent barbarians contrar the grekis, and als he be cam familiar vitht the awakened suspicion. barbariens, the quhilk familiarite vas occasione that the grekis tuke ane real suspetione and ane vehement im- 9 aginatione of his conjuratione and conspiratione. quharfor til eschaip the danger and domage that mycht? succede fra his trason, the ephores of lacedemonia send ther sergent to summond hym to compeir in the toune of spart vndir the pane to be reput rebel and enemye 14 to grece. than he belevand to keip hym fra ane gritar suspetione, and als hefand hope to purge hym of al crymes throcht giftis and moneye that he thocht to [\*leaf 80 (92), bk] distribut among the senaturis of lacedemonia, he past forduart vitht the sergent to the toune of spart. than 19 incontenent the ephores constitut hym presoneir, for the ephores of lacedemonia var of sa grit authorite, that thai mycht constitut and compel ther kyng or ther duc to be presoneir. the senaturs & inhabitaris of spart hed nocht sufficient probatione to condamp hym. ther- 24 for thai dred to exsecut vengeance on hym, be cause he vas discendit of hie geneologie, and of the blude ryal of lacedemonia, and als he vas of hie dignite. at that in- of the circumstant tyme he hed ane domestik seruitour quhilk he which his treason hed abusit carnalye lang of befoir in his southeid, quhilk seruitur hed borne the last vrytingis that he 30 hed vrytin to artabasus the secretar of kyng exerxes. than this seruituir persauand that nane of the messengeris that hed past of befoir vitht vrytingis to artabasus, returnit agane vitht ansuer, he heffand dreddor of his auen lyif, he apnit the vrytingis to red the tenor of 35 1 thon

stances through

2 mytht

1 them, quhar he gat the samyn thing in them quhilk he suspekit'& doubtit of befor1: that is to say, quhou that pausanias vrit to artabasus to resaif his vrytingis & ther eftir to ala the messengeir. this said seruitur 'brocht [\* loaf 81 (98)] the vrytingis to the ephores of lacedemonia, the quhilk 6 vryting maid the traison of pausanias manifest, git nochtheles thai vald nocht exsecut punitione quhil that the verite of his cryme var mair manifest, than be ane subtile cauteil thai gart pausanias seruitur pas to the tempil to tak gyrtht and protectione, as dois ane tres-11 gressor that hed committit cryme in ald tymes. it vas vsit in greice that ane seruand that offensit his maister vas punest be the iugis as ane trespassar that hed committit cryme. and syne thai gart ane of ther familiaris adverteis pausanias, quhou that his seruitur hed tane 16 gyrtht in the tempil for sum cryme that he hed committit, and als thai hed gifin sufficient informatione to the seruituir of pausanias quhou he suld vse hym touart his maister. than the ephores past to the samyn tempil, and hid them in ane secret place be hynd the 21 curting of the tempil, to that effect that thai mycht2 heir the vordis and communicationis that vas to be spokyn betuix pausanias and his seruituir. beand advertest of the presonyng of his seruand, past incontenent to the tempil to inquyre his seruituir of [\* loaf 81 (98), bk] the cause of his cummyng to gyrtht in that 'said tempil. his seruituir ansuert, schyr, i hed suspitione and dred my lyif, be cause that the messengeris that 3e 29 send of befoir to xerxes returnit nocht agane. therfor i apnit your vritingis quhair that i hef fundyn the thyng that i doubtit, quharfor i meruel that 3e haif vrytin to gar sla me, considerand that i hef been ane faithtful

1 hefor

seruituir, and 3e vait veil that i hef kepit 3our consel in secret of al 3our byssines that 3e hef vrocht vitht 35 kyng exerxces contrar the grekis, ther for 3e hef com-

2 mytht

mittit ane onhumain act in sa far as 3e vald gar 1 ala me for my guide seruice. pausanias ansuert, sayand, my frend, it is of verite that thou says, sic thing i clid throcht ane suspetione that i tuik of the quharfor i pray the to perdone me, and heir i sal mak ane promes that i sal euer be ane faithtful maister to the, 6 and i sal recompens the for thy grit faithtful labouris. therfor i pray the to depart incontenent, and pas to artabasus, and to declair til hym be tong guhou that i am rycht! solist to fulfil the promes that i maid til his maister xerxes, the quhilk i beleif sal cum til ane gude 11 fyne rycht<sup>1</sup> haistylie. the ephores that stude be hynd the curtynis knauand and herand the manifest trason of pausanias, thai 'gart hym dee in presone, & ther [\*leaf 82 (94)] eftir thai gart cast his body in ane cauerne quhar that perished for his the vse vas to cast the carions of comdampnit transgressouris, and sa pausanias vas recompensit & reuardit 17 for his trason that he committit contrar his native cuntre.

¶ T[h]er is ane ythir exempil<sup>3</sup> of the punitione of Samuel. trason, in the fyrst cheptor of the second beuk of cap. 2. samuel. quhen the philistiens faucht in ane battel con- How the young trar the childir of israel, quhar that kyng saul vas slane slew Saul, on the montan of gelboye, at that tyme ther departit rewarded by ane gong man of the amalekytes blude fra the camp of slain for his saul, quha presentit hym on his kneis befoir dauid. than dauid said til hym, quhar fra ar thou cum? presentlye the soung man answert, i am cum fra the camp 28 of Israel. dauid said til hym, i pray the that thou declair to me al the nouelles of the battel. the 30ng man ansuert, the pepil ar fled fra the battel, and ther is ane grit nummer of the pepil deid, & als saul and his sone iehonathan ar dede. dauid said to the 30ung man that brocht the nouuelles, quhou knauis thou that saul and ieonathan his sone ar dede? the zoing man ansuert, 35

thinking to be

1 rytht 2 hit s exemple

1 quod he, be chance i arryuit on the montan of gelbove. [\*loaf 82 (94), bk] quhar i beheld saul leynand on his speyr. than he lukit be hynd hym, sayand to me, quhat art thou? to gaheme i ansuert, i am ane amalaket. than he said, i pray the to ala me, for mellancolye hes assailet me, bot 6 northeles my lyif is ait in my body, than i past and i sleu hym, be cause that i kneu that he culd nocht eschaip vitht his lyif; and i tuke his croune fra his hede, and his brascheletis fra his armis, the quhilkis i haif brocht heir to the. than dauid lamentit hauylye 11 the dede of saul and of his sone iehonatan, & the slauchtyr of the grit numer of pepil that var slane. than eftir his dolorus lamentatione, he said to the soung man that hed brocht hym the nounellis, guhy dred thou nocht to put thy handis in the vnctit kyng of the lord? 16 than dauid callit on ane of his sodiours, and gart hym sla that zong man in his presens, sayand, thy blude sal be on thy hede, for thy moutht hes testifet contrar1 thy self, quhen that thou confessit that thou sleu the vnctit kyng of the lord, of this sort this soung man vas punest Samuel. ca, 5. for the slauchtyr of kyng saul. Ther is ane vthir ex-22 empil of the punitione of trason, as is vrytin in the fyft be cheptor of the second beuk of samuel. quhen that rechab and banach his 'brudir entrit' in the house of [\* leaf H8 (96)] How Rechab and isbosetht the sone of kyng saul, & thair thi strak hym Baanah were put to death for the t[h]rocht the fyft ryb of his syde vitht ane dagar, quhen naurder of King Ishbosheth. he vas slepand in his bed, and ther eftir thai cuttit3 his hede fra his body, & brocht it to dauid til ebron, say-29 and, behald heir the hede of isbosetht the sone of kyng saul thy mortal enemye: the lord hes tane vengeance on kyng saul and on his seid. dauid ansuert to rechab

1 contrat 2 entrir 2 cuttit 4 delynerit 5 rytht

and baanach and said, syklik as the lord quhilk delyuerit<sup>4</sup> me fra tribulatione is lyuand, and als sykilik as i gart sla hym that brocht me the nouuelles of the 35 dede of kyng saul, be mair rycht<sup>5</sup> i suld gar sla them that hes slane the just isbosetht quhen he vas lyand 1 slepand in his bede. than kyng dauid gef command til his sodiours to sla rechab and baanacht.1 than the soudiours at dauid command fyrst cuttit the feit and the handis fra the tua tratours that sleu isboseth in his so should all bed, and syne? hangit them baytht on ebron hil. of this sort traturs suld be ay rewardit quhen thai commit 7 trason contrar ther prince. Ther is ane vther exempil of the punitione of tratouris that betrasis ther natyf prince. quhen the cruel veyris var betuix darius kyng of perse and grit alexander of macedon, ther vas ane captan of kyng darius quha vas verra familiar & in [\*lenf85(95), bk] grit fauoir vitht darius, callit bessus, quha sleu his How the traitor maister kyng darius, in hope to get ane grit reuard fra in pieces kyng alexander. kyng alexander cam at that instant 15 tyme guhen darius vas in the agonya and deitht thrau. t[h]roch the mortal vondis that he had ressuit fra bessus his seruituir. than alexander maid ther ane solempnit you to reuenge the trason committit be the said bessus. than he4 gart his sodiours serche & seike bessus, quha 20 vas gottyn in the forest, and vas brocht and led bundyn in ane chenge befor kyng alexander.5 this nobil alexander gart his sodiours pul doune the crops of the green treis, and ther eftir tha band his tua armis vitht cordis to the crops of ane of the treis, and he gart bynd his between two feit to the crops of the tothir tre, & than gart lat louse the crops of the tua6 treis, and tha sprang vp rycht7 of 27 ther ald fasson, & in the rysing vp thai dreu the body of bessus in peces. of this sort bessus vas reuardit for his trason committit contrar his rychteous prince. Ther is ane exempil of the trason that ane blac iacopyne How a Black frere committit contrar henry the seuynt of that name. the toune of florens vald nocht obeye to the empir, quhar for the said 'Empriour Henry brocht' ane grit

3 darius 6 rythteous 1 baanatht sync 7 rytht 5 alexender 9 brotht

Jacobin Friar,

1 armye to seige the toune of florens. than ane blac who, bribed by the Florentines,

poisoned the Emperor Henry.

iacopyne frere gat ane grit some of moneye fra the florentynis to tak on hand to sla the empriour, be cause

this said frere vas familiar vitht the said empriour. than he t[h]rocht auereis, he poysont the host of the sacrament vitht poyson. ther eftir that nobil empriour past to resaif the body of god vndir the forme of brede, and 8 as soune as he had resauit it is his moutht, his body began to suel, and sa he decessit. The verite of this trason vas persauit be the phicisians and medicinaris: quhar for the men of veyr of this nobil empriour gart quartyr that fals frere betuix iiij hors, and sa he vas

was torn in quarters by

> 13 remardit for his trason. There is diverse vthirs exemplis of the myscheif that god sendis on conspiratours. there for i exort 30u my thre sonnis, that gyf ony of 30u hes faltit contrar 30ur comont veil throught ignorance or abusione, that 3e correct 3our selfis, than god 18 sal be your frend.

# [load 84 (08), bk] ¶ Quhou the thrid sone of this favr lady callit laubir ansuert bitht ane lamenta-

### bil complaynt.

#### CHAP. XV.1

MY dolorus mother, quhilk sum tyme aboundit in 19 prosperite, and nou thou art spulzet fra al felicite t[h]rocht grit affliction of langorius tribulatione, resaif thy repreif in paciens for ane correctione, and nocht for ane inuectyf dispyit, i knau that thy com-24 playnt is nocht disrasonabil nor vitht out cause, git nochtheles my displeseir is vondir bittir, in sa far as i hef baytht the domage and the reproche of thy mys-

I have both the damage and the reproach.

1 Original Chap. VX.

cheif, the guhilk i deserve nocht til hef be rason of my 1 innocens. Allace, the adversite of ane innocent is mair nor cruel quhen he induris punitione for ane cryme that ane transgressor committis, i may be comparit to Like a dull ass I the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane im-prodded. portabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me 6 do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace, i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man I am the butt of schutis ar rous of tribulatione. allace, quhou is iustice sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can 11 exsecut. allace, i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis I mbour night to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recom- lazy useless pens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen men, ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and who, in their thai parsecut my body vitht oultrage and hayrschip, to beggary. quhil i am be cum ane begger. thai lyf throcht me, and They live through i dee t[h]rocht them. allace, o my natural mother, thou through them. repreifis & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir 19 committies daly, my tua brethir nobilies and clergie My two brothers, quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me are more cruel to nor is my ald enemes of ingland. the ar my natural English. brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verray deid. Allace, quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther 24 can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot cruel dede. i dee daly in ane transe t[h]rocht the necessite 1 die daily; that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyrs. my my corn and cornis and my cattel ar reft fra me. i am exilit fra my from me; takkis and fra my steddyngis. the malis and fermis of and I am turned the grond that i laubyr is hychtit1 to sic ane price, that holding. it is fors to me & vyf and bayrns to drynk vattir, the [\* lenf 85 (97), bk] teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abufe 32 the fertilite that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai I am compelled ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir. two tyrant and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik

all the arrows of [\* leaf 85 (97)] tribulation.

and day, to feed

turn, oppress me

nobles and clergy, me than the

to lend to my brothers:

when I dun them for the debt, I am cuffed or killed.

craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tual cruel brethir, and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld sustene my lyif, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am slane. ther for laubereris to burcht & land and be see burd, thai indure daly sic violence that it is nocht possibil that esperance of releif can be ymagynit. for ther is nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond to burcht and land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulze, and al vthyr sortis of adversite, quhilk is onmercifully exsecut daly. the veyr is cryit contrar ingland, bot the actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris, and

The war is cried against England, but really waged against us poor labourers.

The working classes are an [leaf 85 (98)] important part of the body politic;

the nobility and clergy are like men in a frenzy who bite their own flesh.

In Rome the tribunes protected the commonalty;

but there is no help for them in Scotland:

consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother, my complaynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair disples-14 and to susteen my piteous desolatione, i am banest fra my house, i am boistit and manniest be my frendis, and i am assailsit be them that suld defend me. the lauberaris ar ane notabil membyr of ane realme, vitht out the quhilk the nobillis '& clergie can nocht sustene ther stait nor ther lyif, git notheles that ar baytht be cum my mortal enemeis, the quhilk vil be the final euersione of ther auen prosperite, therfor i may compair them til ane man in ane frenyse, quhilk bytis his auen membris vitht his tetht,2 through the quhilk his body be s cummis consumit. the romans in ald tymes prouidit prudentlie for the deffens of the comont pepil contrar the nobillis, the senat, and al vtheris of grit stait or dignites, and contrar ther extorsions, for thai institut 28 ane nobil man of office, callit tribunus plebis, quha deffendit the fredum and liberte of the comont pepil contrar the crualte of the hie senat, or ony vthir grit man of grit stait. bot allace it is nocht nou of that sort vitht me, for i am left desolat vitht out supple or deffens amang the handis of vrangus oppressours quhilk professit them to be my brethir and defendouris, for i 35 indure mair persecutione be them nor be the cruel veyr

1 burtht 2 techt 3 he

of ingland, for my takkis, steyding, and teyndis ar 1 nocht alanerly tane fra me or ellis hychtit¹ til ane onrasonabil price, bot as veil i am maid ane slaue? of I am made a my body to ryn and rashe in arrage & carraige. ther for i am constrenget to cry on god for ane ven geance con- [\* leaf 86 (98), ba] trar them for the importabil afflictione quhilk thai constrenge me til indure, the quhilk i beleif sal cum haistyly on them be the rycht iugement of god, conform- God will take and to the vordis of the prophet, propter miseriam them, inopum & gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam dicit dominus: that is to say, be the expositione of the doctoris, for the misere of mistirful men, and for 12 the vepyng of pure men, the diuyne iustice sal exsecut strait punitione. therfor thir potestatis and men of stait that dois extorsions to the pure pepil thai hef mistir to for their oppresbe verra var and to abstrak them fra the violence quhilk tha parpetrat on the pure pepil. for it is to be presumit 17 that the lamentabil voce and cryis of the affligit pepil complenant to the hauyn, vil moue to pitie the clemens of the maist merciful and puissant diuyne plasmator, the quhilk t[h]rocht his eternal justice, vil succumb in confusione al violent vsurpatours quhilkis parpetratis 22 sic cruel iniquiteis on the desolat pure pepil. (o thou my mother) sen i am in dangeir of the deitht, I appeal to His and disparit of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constrences me to cry on god, and to desire vengeance on them that persecutis me, in 'hope that he vil releif me, or els to tak me furtht of this miserabil lyif, for the ingratitude The wickedness of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione, and the mysknau-brother lage of god, and ther disordinat misgouernance, is the afflictions. cause of my impatiens, and cause of al my afflictione; 31 for as ther euil conquest reches multiplies, ther disordinat pompe and ther delicius ydilnes, vitht misknaulage of god augmentis, quhilk is occasione that the ar ambitius in ther stait, couetuse of gudis, and desirus to be 35 1 hychtil 3 alene 3 imporlabil

4 misknaulahe

sion of the poor. [\* leaf 87 (99)] None of their works are conformed to the will of God.

1 governouris of the realme. i suld hef said misgovernouris of the realme, the quailk foliful affectionis vil be ther auen confusione quhen god pleysis, be rason that nane of ther verkis ar conformand to the comand of god. bot al the mannessing that is maid to them, nor

6 git the grit promes that is maid to them be the holy scripture, altris nocht ther couetyse desyre, therfor thai may be comparit to the edropic, the quhilk the mair that he drynk the mair he has desire to drynk. my tua brethir nobillis and clergie ar in sic melancole, be cause

My murmurings do not cause them to desist from wrong.

of them decistis fra the vice quhilk gifis me occasione 13 to murmyr. it is nocht possibil to gar extorsione be [\* leaf 87 (99), bk] witht out murmur, \*nor murmur to be vitht out rumour

> of the pepil, nor rumour to be vitht out divisione, & divisione vitht out desolatione and sklandyr, therfor my impaciens suld be supportit be cause that the occa-

> that i complein and murmyris ther crualte, bot ait nane

You should not blame all your children alike.

sione of it hes suppedit my rason. o my desolat mother!

thou suld nocht reproche al thy thre childir in general, bot rathere to reproche sa mony? in special that ar occa-21 sione of thy afflictione. thou vait that ane man vil haue

There are good and bad in all families.

childir of deferent conditionis, sum gude, and sum euil. the patriark Iacob hed tuelf sonnis, of the quhilk his 30ngest sone beniemyn vas indole and innocent, and Iosept vas faitful and merciful, and ruben vas pieteabil and humain, and the tothir nyne brethir var cruel and

27 dissaitful, quhen thai condampnit there brothere Iosept to dee in ane cesterne, & there eftir thai sellit hym to the egiptiens to be ane sklaue. Siklik amang al sortis of pepil, and amang al facultes and staitis, there is sum gude and sum euil. and fyrst to speik of the defferens of kyngis. dauid that roial prophet, vas ane holy kyng, and kyng saul vas cruel & vicius, and amang the staitis

of preistis, mathathias vas gude, and obnias vas euil.

and in all conditions

> 35 and amang the stait of prophetis, daniel vas gude, and 1 nother

balaam vas euil. & amang the vedous, iudicht vas [\*leaf 88 (100)] gude, and Ihesabel vas euil. amang the pastoirs and hirdis, abel vas gude, and abimelech vas euil. amang the staitis of reche men, Iob vas gude, and nabal was euil. and amang the religion of the apostolis, Sanct 5 petir vas gude, and iudas vas euil. ther for o my dolorus mother, thou erris in thy accusatione, in sa far as thou makis na acceptione of personis, nor puttis defferens betuix qualites of conditionis of men. it is concludit be al lauis, diuyne and humain, that euere Every person person sal bayr his auen birding, and that euere person own burden, sal be commendit or detestit efferand for his conversa- 12 tione, therfor thou suld nocht condamp innocentis and trangressouris baytht to giddir. sic punitione excedis the limitis of discretione and of iustice. it is vrytin in the 7 cheptor of genesis, that god sauit lotht and his famile, be cause of there obediens, quhen he distroyit 17 the vicius pepil of sodome and gomore. O my velbelouit mother, thou knauis that i am innocent of thy inuective You know that I accusatione, and that my tua cruel brethir ar the cause of thy desolatione, & of my distructione. for i am sa violently ouerset be them, that throcht pouerte of gudis and 't[h]rocht debilite of my persone, i can nothir do gude [\* leafes (109), bk] to my frendis, nor euil to my enemes. quharfor i exort 24 the til altir thy seueir accusatione in ane cheritabil consolatione. there is ane prouerb that sais parce sepulto; A proverb mys that is to saye, spair hym that is in his sepulture. this deed;" prouerb maye be applyit to my dolorus fortoune, for i maye be comparit til hym that is dede in his sepulture, considerand that ther can be na dolour eikit to my ad- I am as good as uersite, except cruel deitht. there for thou suld abstrak thy inuective reprocha, quhilk is rather crualte nor 32 correctione, conformand til ane adagia of ane of the seuyn sapientis of rome, callit minus publianus, that said, crudelis in re aduersa est obiurgatio. Allace my deir mother, thou consideris nocht quhou 36

I pass for the youngest brother,

but am in truth the eldest.

I created their

[\* leaf 80 (101)]

state:

now they profess to be gentlemen, and account me rustic and uncivilized.

Adam and his STECCESSOTS Wet all labourers of the ground.

They would fain have it that they are the progeny of angels and archangels, and not of Adam.

[\*leaf 89 (101), bk] What illustrious poor origin: David,

Tarquin the elder, pure lauberar of the grond, tarquinius priscus the fyift

that my brethir ar becum onmerciful tirrans touart me. i am haldyn be the v[u]lgar pepil for there zongest brother, bot i am there eldest brother in verra deid. for i vas gottyn and borne lang befor them, and it vas i 5 that first instituit there faculteis, for the pollice that vas inventit be me & my predecessouris eftir the creatione of the varld, hes procreat the stait of my brethir. the faculteis and the begynnyng of nobillis and 'spiritualite, hed bot pure lauboraris to there predeces-0 souris. bot nou sen thai ar cum to stait and digniteis t[h]rocht me, thai ar be cum ingrat, and lychtleis me, my tua brethir professis them to be gentil men, and reputis me and al lauberaris to be rustical and inciuile, ondantit, ignorant, dullit slauis. thai vil nocht consider that al there gentreis hes procedit and discendit fra me. ther for quhair thai compt the degreis of there genologie, 17 thai suld fyrst begyn at adam oure foir father, and quhen thai pryde them, and ascribis in there reches faculteis or digniteis, thai suld fyrst begyn at the successouris of ouer foir father Adam, quhilkis var lauberaris of the grond, and be there prudent invention and pollice, hes procreat the stait that thai posses. therfor 23 thai haue na cause to gloir in them seluis, bot rather thai suld gloir in me, and in al lauberaris of the grond quhilkis var fundatouris of al there triumphand prosperite. bot there affectione, and there vane ignorant consaitis, garris them ymagyn & beleif that there predecessouris and al there nobillite and digniteis hes discendit fra the angellis and archangellis, & nocht fra 30 ouer for father adam, quhilk is the speciale cause that 'thai lychtlie the lauberaris that fundit them. i meruel men have been of that thai considir nocht the gentris & genologe of kyng dauid that hed ane pure scheiphird til his father, tulius hostilius the thrid kyng of rome, vas the sone of ane

1 lanberaris

kyng of rome, was the sone of ane pure marchant. varro. that prudent2 consul and dictatur of rome, vas the sone of ane flaschar. the vailgeant consul of rome per- 3 penna, quha reuengit the slaucthtir of crassus, vas the Perpenna, sone of ane pure greik. marcus cato vas the sone of ane Mareus Cato, pure man of tuscan, the philosophour socrates, quhilk socrates, vas iugit to be the maist prudent man in the vniuersal varld, was the sone of ane pure man callit sophonistus, 8 quhilk vas ane grauer of imagis of marbyr stone, and his mother was ane meyd vyf. euripides was the sone of Euripides, ane pure man that sellit frut & eirbis. demostenes that Demostenes, prudent duc of athenes, vas the sone of ane pure mar- 12 chant that sellit ald knyuis. agathocles kyng of cecille, Agathocles, vas the sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis. marcus tulius cicero vas the sone of ane pure lauberar of ar- cleare. pyne. quhar for i meruel of the vanete of my tua brethir that ascribis and professis them 'gentil men be [ • los ( 90 (102) ] successione of ther predecessouris, and thai vil nocht 18 considir that the stok of the fyrst genologe of al the nobillis that hes bene sen the varld began, hes been pure lauberaris and mecanik craftis men: therefor it is grit abusione to them to gloir in there nobil blude; for How baseless the i trou that gif ane cirurgyen vald drau part of there Let it be tested. blude in ane bassyn, it vald hef na bettir cullour nor the blude of ane plebien or of ane mecanik craftis man. 25 the vane gloir that my tua brethir takis in sic vane gentilnes, is the cause that thai lichtlye me, t[h]rocht the quhilk arrogant mynde that thai hef consauit,4 thai mysken god and man, quhilk is the occasione that i and thou sal neuyr get releif of our afflictione. quharfor i 30 pray to god to grant them grace to ken them selfis; for God grant that as lang as thai ken nocht them selfis, thai sal neuyr ones may have ken god, nor 3it sal hef pitie of pure affligit pepil. the grace to know themselves! quhilk misknaulege of themself and of god, sal be occasione of there auen ruuyne, bot gif thai correct them 35

1 pf 9 prudint 3 sophomistus 4 consanit

1 selfis haistylye. O my dolorus mother, this prolixt lamentabil complaynt procedis fra ane affligit hart, quhar for i exort the to mettigat thy invective vehe-[\*leaf@(lea),bk] ment accusatione, and to considir the 'verite of my innocens, the prudent seneque gyuis cummand to repreif 6 vitht out iniure, and to loue vitht out flattery; bot

It is not the commonalty that are guilty of tresson.

thou passis the limitis of baytht thir documentis, for thy vordis ar verra iniurius, vitht out perspectione to the verite. thou accusis me ouer rigourouslie of conspiratione and trason, thou knauand veil that trason is neuyr generit nor inventit in the hartis of the pure 12 comontis; & quhou beit that there ignorance culd gar

They have no opportunity.

them consaue? ane grondit maleis contrar ane prince that hes perpetrat exactionis on the pepil, 3it notheles thai hef nothir prudens nor knaulege til conuoye and til exsecut ony point of trason. there for, quhen the

committaris of trason ar tryit furtht, it sal be fundyn 18 that i and al vthir of my faculte sal be clene and innocentis of that foule cryme, be rason that it is nocht possibil that ane pure man can have oportunite til exsecut ane traisonabil act contrar ane prince, be cause of sa mony dificil impedimentis that maye imposche hym,

23 as pouerte, dreddour, ignorance, and nocht<sup>8</sup> hefand familiarite vitht ane prince, and the perellis & dangers that maye succed fra conjurationis, ar vondir grit, nocht

[\* leaf 91 (103)] alanerly in the convoying and in the divising diverse 27 consaitis to bring there purpos til effect, bot as veil the dangeir and perrel is as grit in the exsecutione of it, and na les danger and perrel eftir that it be exsecut.

therefor i think that ane pure man can commit na

31 trason contrar ane prince, bot gif that he vald has;ard his lyif in ane disparit vilfulnes; and quhar ony man takis hardynes to commit trason of that sort, it is rycht seyndil sene that he eschapis the deitht in the present

35 -tyme of his exsecutione, ther for i can nocht beleif that

S CADSAUG

ony person vil offir hym self til ane certan detht vil- 1 fully. for quhou beit that pausanias sleu philip kyng of macedon passand to the tempil quhar he hed ane thousand of his men of armis about hym in the presens of his sone and of his gude sone, zit noththeles that act 5 culd neuyr hef been exsecut, hed nocht been that pausanias hed familiarite witht kyng philip. and siklyik ane spanggard of ane pure stait strak ferrand kyng of spange witht ane knyf on the crag, quhilk wound vas nocht mortal; zit noththeles this spangzard culd nocht 10 hef dune it, hed nocht been that he hed ane hardy hart, and alse heffand commodite and tyme oportune to com-schot ane bolt befoir the port of tempil contrar basit, quhilk vas fathere to solomanuis the grit turk that 15 ringis nou presentlye. that schot sleu nocht basit, bot git the exsecutione of that act culd nocht hef been witht out hardynes and oportunite. therfor O my desolat mother, ve that ar pure lauberaris suld neuir be suspekkit of trason, considerand that we have nothir tyme, 20 oportunite, reches, credens, hardynes, prudens, nor familiarite vitht ane prince. therfor, al historiograph- All conspiracion ours rehersis that al conjurations hes been exsecut be formented by the grit personagis of ane realme, or ellis be the familiaris seruandis of ane prince. there for ve that ar pure com- 25 ontis, distitut of credit, prudens, and autorite, and nocht heffand familiarite vitht the maieste of ane prince, ve can hef na comodite of the necessair thingis that ar requirit to put ane trasonabil act til exsecutione. for quhou beit that our ignorance vald gar vs consaue 30 ane malicius intent contrar our prince, ve behufit fyrst to reueil it til diuerse men to gar them be participant vitht vs, t[h]roucht the quhilk revelatione sum of them vald accuse vs til our prince. for it is nocht possibil to [ leaf 22 (104)] gar thresum keip consel, and speciale in causis of trason; for euere person hes sum frend that he louis as 36

How secrets

veil as hym self, and that frende hes ane vthir frende, and that tothir frend hes the thrid frende, and the thrid frend hes the feyrd frende; and of this sort there 4 intrepricis is manifest, fra the quhilk succedis perdition of body and gudis. for there is nocht mony men in this varld bot sum vil schau there secret to ther brother, or to there compangone, or to there vyfe, or to there familiar seruandis; and alsa indiscretione of sum con-9 iuratours causis there entreprisis to be discounert be there servandis or childir, t[h]roucht suspectione and conjecture that occurris quhen thir conjuratours ar over ample and plane in ther deliberatione of there purpos ande of there entreprice in the presens of there seruandis and childir; as is rehersit in the fyrst beuk of titus liuius, that quhen the sonnis of brutus var makand ane sedicius pactione vitht the imbassadours of 17 tarquinus, quhilk there father brutus hed bannest fra rome, at that tyme are seruand of the sonnis of brutus herd al the pactione of the conjuratione, the quhilk

How the treason of the sons of Brutus was detected,

[\*leaf92(104), bk] seruand accusit them of trason to there fathe're brutus

and to the senat, quilk vas occasione that brutus vsit
22 extreme iustice on his tua sonnis, nocht heffand regarde
to the pitie that fathers hes touuart there natural sonnis,
bot rather he did preffer the public veil befor natural
loue, quhen he gart strik the heydis fra his tua 30ng
sonnis. Sum tyme coniuration is reuelit throught
27 facilnes of the coniuratours that schauis there secret til

How the plot of Philotes against Alexander was disclosed.

:

ane voman or til ony frende that thai loue hartfully, as did ane gentil man callit dinus, quha vas participant of the coniuratione that philotes intendit til exsecut contrar kyng allexander. this foirsaid dinus reuelit his 32 secreit til ane 30ng child that he louit callit nicomacus, ande nicomacus reuelit that samyn secret til his brother ciballinus, and ciballinus reuelit it til kyng alexander, quhilk vas occasione that the coniuratours suffrit the 36 detht. Therefor (o my dolorus mothere) thou may con-

sidir that the defeculte of the comitting of trason is Treason is not vondir grit, and the perrel and the dangeir that succedis great; is na les; quharfor grit men, and alse the familiaris of princis that coniuris, ar affligit in there hart vitht ane 4 thousand deffeculteis or tha tak on hand til exsecute there entreprice. than be mair rycht ve that ar poure [\* leaf 95 (105)] comontis can nothir hef oportunite nor comodite to virk for the poor! trason contrar our prince, and quhou beit that sum tyme ve resaue iniuris throught exactions that are euil 9 gouvernit prince exsecutis on the pepil, 3it nochtheles ve indure tha exactions patientlye, and exsecutis no traisonabil vengeance, be cause ve hef nothir knaulage, reches nor subtilite to convoye vs til exsecut sic trason. there for, quhen ve commit no traison, our ignorance 14 descruis mair louving nor dois our prudens, the maist The worst we can cruel vengeance that pure comontis can exsecut contrar do against a bad prince is to cause ane euil prince, is to gar our vyuis & bayrnis pray children to pray nycht and daye to send ane mischeif on hym, and to against him; send hym schort lyue dais, & to send ane vthir gude 19 prince in his place, conformand to the prayer of sanct dauid in the 108 psalme of his psalter, quhilk sais, etenem occidantur qui nos perturbant, fiant filij eius orphani, & episcopatum eius accipiet alter, as is contenit at mair lyntht in the psalme callit 24 deus laudem; bot ve nor our vyuis and bayrnis dar and that we dare neuyr pray appynly to send sic vengeance on ane euil not do openly. prince, in drede that sum curtician alege trason on vs. and thereftir to 'by our eschet. ther for ve praye for [\*loaf 95 (105), bk] vengeance quhen ve ly doune at euyn, and quhen ve 29 ryise in the mornyng; bot al the remanent of the daye quhen ve happyn to cum in ony straynge companye, ve In company we pray denotly vitht ane fenget hart to saue his grace, and ferrently "God to keip hym in lang lyue dais and in gude prosperite. as valerius maximus rehersis ane exempil quhou there Valerius vas ane vyfe of syracuse in cecille quhilk prayt daly in Maximus, the tempil in presens of the pepil to saue and to keip

save his Grace!"

Dionysins

1 dionisius the kyng of cecille, quha vas ane prince that committit mony exactions on the pure pepil. the deof the old women uotione of this ald vyif vas reportit to 1 kyng dionisius, quha culd nocht meruel aneucht of the gude mynde that sche hed touuart hym, considerand that al the 6 remanent of the pepil of siracuse heytit hym to the detht for the exactions insupportabil that he exsecutit on the pepil. than to be satefeit of his admiratione he send for that ald vyif, and inquirit hyr of the cause of the gude mynde that sche bure touuart hym, consider-11 and that he neuyr merit nor descruit sic kyndnes touuart hyr. the ald vyif ansuert to kyng dionisius. [\*leaf \$4 (186)] quod sche, my souuerane prince, i vse nocht sic de uo-

tione to desir your lang lyif dais, bot for ane grit rason as i sal reherse. in the begynnyng quhen i vas ane 16 30ng damysel, 30ur gudsoheir molestit the pepil vitht intollerabil exactions, quhar for i prayt to the goddis of the tempil to schort his lyif dais: than sune ther eftir he vas slane. than eftir hym succedit his sone quha vas your father, and he did mair extersions to the pepil

id be still

nor did his father, quharfor i prayt to the goddis of the 22 tempil to send hym schort lyif dais: than sune there eftir he vas stikkit in his secret chalmyr. and nou se succed to your fatheris heretage and til al his vicis, for se commit dayly mair insupportabil exactions nor did your father or your gudscheir, quhar for i pray dayly to 27 the goddis to send you lang lyif dais; for i vait veil sen that iniquiteis and vicis succedis gre be gre fra princis vitht augmentation of the samyn, doutles i suspect that your successour sal be the master deuyl; there for i hed leuyr indure 30ur exactions nor til hef ane var prince in your place. Of this sort (o my dolorus mother) ve that ar comont pepil vsis na vthir trason bot murmuris, and

Our treason does not go beyond

34 bannis our prince secretlye quhen he gouvernis nocht [\*leaf96(195), bk] veil the real me vitht justice, and puneissis transgres-

souris. And quhou beit that thou vald alege that ve 1 can nocht purge vs of trason in sa far as ve hef tane As to taking assurance of inglis men, allace thou suld nocht imput English, our assurance for trason nor for ane cryme, for thou vait veil that ve that ar lauberaris of the grond culd nocht resist the inglis men; for ve that hed our vyuis and we cannot help barnis, our cattel and corne, and our gudis in the boundis quhilk the inglis men possest violentlye, gart 8 it be forse til vs to be assurit, or ellis ve hed lossit al our gudis, and our selfis til hef beene slane. for it is veil knauen that sum of vs vald nocht be assurit, in hope that my tua brethir nobilis and speritualite vald and the nobles hef defendit vs, and til hef resistit our enemeis. bot sic help us, vane hope that we hed of my brethers supple hes gart 14 mony of vs be hareyt furtht of house and herberye, quhilk is occasion that mony of vs ar beggand our meit so some of us who athourt the cuntre, and there is nocht ane of vs that ar found to our hereyt be inglis men that can get othir tak or steyding, or kou or ox, fra our tua bredir to help vs in this ex- 19 treme pouerte. this veil considirit (o my desolat mother) i suld empesche the to inge that the assurance that the pure comontis 'hes taine to procede of trason, consider- [\* leaf 95 (107)] and that necessite vas the cause of our assurance, therfor doutles quhen the autorite & my tua brethir passis If the leaders will in gude ordour to resist the invasions of our ald against the enemeis, it sal be maid manifest that the pure comontis not be wanting; that ar assurit of inglis men, thai sal preif as gude 27 scottis men eftir there qualite as ony scottis man of scotland that was neurr assurit. bot nou at this dolorus but at present we tyme ve ar constrenget to be assurit, the quhilk assurance is bot ane dissimulatione, tariand quhil the tyme virk ane bettir chance, and i think that our dissymila- 32 tione is nothir cryme nor syn, considerand as the bissynes of the cuntre standis presentlye. for ane dissimila- our assurance is tione that procedis nocht of ane astuce intent suld be callit ane hie prudens rathere nor dissymilatione. the 36

and clergy won't

have tried, have

make head English, we shall

have no choice,

The dissimulation of Junius Brutue

Titus livius, Libro i.

Valorius magimus li. 7. os. 8.

saved himself

and Rome.

[\* leaf 96 (106)]

So the commons of Scotland must pretend allegiance to England.

dissymilatione of that vailgeant romane iunius brutus conquest til hym mair reputatione and gloir nor did his 3 vailgeant actis that he committit quhen he bannest the tirran kyngis furtht of rome. Titus liuius rehersis that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of rome vas verra cruel contrar them that var reput vise and prudent, & [\*leaf# (167),bk] also he perpetrat daly intollerabil exactions contrar the comont pepil. quhen euyr it vas reportit til hym of ony

9 speciale person that was reput prudent, he gart put that person in his beuk of proscriptione. quharfor zoung iunius brutus, quha vas sistir sone to tarquinus, heffand dreddor to be slane be his oncle, and to tyne his patrimone, he of ane prouidit mynde dissimilit his prudens, & changit his outuart verteous conditions in actis of 15 folye lyke ane natural fule, quhar for it vas beleuit be al the romans that he vas be cum frenetic and glaykit, quhilk vas occasione that tarquinus vald nocht exsecut his crualte contrar hym, be cause he iugit hym to be ane fule, iunius brutus conteneuit in his dissimilatione

20 quhil on to the tyme that sextus tarquinus violet be forse the cheist lucrecia, the quhilk vile act generit ane dispylt and ane rancor vithtin the hartis of the romans. than iunius brutus persauand the commotione of the pepil, he thouht it convenient tyme to leave his dissimi-

25 latione and to practik his prudens, quhar for he past to the frendis of lucrecia, and til diuerse othir nobil romans, and gart them depone ane serment that thai suld al concur and conuene togidthir in ane purpose contrar the crualte of 'tarquinus superbus. this serment vas veil maid & bettir kepit, for brutus and the vail-31 seand romans bannest tarquinus fra rome, & al them of that surname, quhilk vas occasione that the comont veil of rome returnit in gude prosperite. be this exem-

bayrnis, & there gudis lyand vndir the inglis mennis 1 togidthlr

plis the pure comontis of scotland that hes there vyuis,

feit, and hes na releif nor deffens to reuenge nor to resist 1 the inglis mens inuasions, thai suld mesure and veye there auen forse, and gif thai fynd them selfis sterk till prudence tells aneucht to defend them and there gudis contrar the inglis men, in that cace thay ar oblist til has ard there lyifis and there gudis to deffend the cuntre, guhou beit 6 that thai get na supple of the autorite. and in apposit, gif the pure comontis that lyis vitht in the inglis men handis be nocht of ane qualite to deffend nor to resist there enemeis, thai commit na cryme quhen thai mak ane dissimulit assurance vitht inglis men, and to tempt that they are al the consaitis and vays that thai can juge to be resist the yoke. necessair to gar them be saue of body and gudis fra the crualte of ingland, quhil on to the tyme that thai maye 14 be strynthit be the autorite to cum to resist the 'inglis [ 11 95 (105), bk] Quhar for i exort the (o my desolat mother) that thou imput nocht the assurance of the pure comontis to proceed of trason, bot rather that thou accuse my tua trason. sophistic brethir, quhilkis suld and culd have releuit and restorit the to thy fyrst stait; for god knauis veil that i am innocent of thy accusatione, and the remeid of thy afflictione lyis nocht in my possibilite.

22

T Quhou the affligit lady dame scotia answert til hyr zongest soune, ande quhou sche reprochit hpr tua eldest sonnis for there neclegens in the defens of there comount beil.

CHAP. XVI.

THOU my 30ngest soune, callit lauberaris to burgh [ leaf 97 (109)] ande land, i vil nocht gyf eyris to thy excusations not listen to nor to thy purgations, be cause, as cicero vritis in

1 coussitie

2 soumie

Clos. pro font.

1 ane orison, that na man suld be admittit to be vytnes in his auen cause. Noluerunt maiores nostri, hanc patere inimicitiis viam, vt quem quisque odisset, eum1 testimonio posset tollere, ementiuntur enim sepe in eos, quos oderunt. nor zit 6 i vil nocht adhere to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane gilty man suld accuse no man of cryme, as crist ihesus hee gyffin ane exempil quhen the pharaseis accusit ane voman that vas tane in

The guilty must not accuse others of guilt.

Ichannes 8. He that is without sin let him cast the first stone.

Math. 7. Luce. 6,

Take the rafter out of your own [\* If 97 (109), bk] eye, and then the straw out of your neighbour's. People carry their neighbour's faults before their eyes, their own behind their back.

Persons satiric. 4.

adultere, desirand his iugement quhiddir thai suld stane hyr to detht conformand to the ald testament, or gyf thai suld thole hyr to depart onpuneist, crist ansuert to the accusaris sayand, he that is vitht out 14 syn sal cast the fyrst stane at hyr. this exempil makkis manifest that are accusar suld be cleene but vice. ande alse crist ihesus hes said in ane vthir passage to the ypocritis that accusit pure synnaris, quod he, ze sal tak furtht ane grit balk furtht of zour auen ee, ande there eftir 30 maye tak furtht ane litil strey furtht of 30ur nychtbours ee. 'The poiet confermis this samyn purpos, sayand, that everye man of this varld baris tua sakkettis vitht hym. the fyrst sakket hyngis befor hym, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the vicis that his nychtbour committis; ande the nyxt sakket hyngis belignd his bak, witht in the quhilk ar contenit al the 26 vicis that his self committis. bot he can nocht see nor persaue his auen vicis, because he seis nocht the sakket that hyngis behynd his bak, bot he seis his nychtbours faltis in the sakket that hingis befor hym, vt nemo in sese tentat discende[re] nemo, sed precedente

31 spectatur mantica tergo. There for (o thou my 30ngest soune) i refuse to gyf eyris or audiens to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane accusar suld be cleen or he accuse his nychtbour, as cicero vritis, Accusare debent ij qui nullo suo 36 peccato impediuntur, quo facilius alterius

peccata demonstrare possint. Nor ait i vil nocht 1 adhere to the accusations that ony ane of 30u hes con- Cicero de trar vthirs. Thy accusatione is vondir inuectyue con-diminations trar thy tua brethir. the fyifteen inuectyuis philipiques of cicero contrar anthonius, excedis nocht the accusations ande calumniations that thou hes pro nuncit con- [ • leaf 95 (110)] trar them, git nochtheles i discomend there crualte, 7 ande i commend nocht thy accusatione, for thou ande al thy sect callit lauberaris to burgh ande land, deseruis The commonalty no les punitione nor dois thy tua brethir nobilis ande ment as much as clergie, for gyf thou ande thy sect hed as grite liberte, as hes thy tua brethir, doutles 3e vald be mair cruel, 12 nor the vyild beystis of the desertis of arabie, the practic of this samyn is presently, ande euer hes been If they had in tymes by past, sen the varld began. for as sune as they would be ge that ar comont pepil ar onbridilit and furtht of sub-others. iectione, your ignorance, inconstance, ande incivilite, pulcis zou to perpetrat intollerabil exactions. for al the 18 insurrectionis that eutr occurrit in ony realme contrar the prince & the public veil, hes procedit of the ignorance & obstinations of the comount pepil. There for none of 30u suld have liberte, bot rather 3e suld be They are not fit daly dantit & haldin in subjectione, be cause that zour hartis is ful of maleis, ignorance, variance & inconst- 24 ance. for the maist part of 30u al gyffis louyng tyl vicius men, and 3e hald verteous men abhominabil, and quhen se ar al convenit to gydthir for the avansing of ane Their meetings gude purpose, 3e cry & ber kis ilk ane contrar vthirs, [\*1198 (110), bk] that nocht ane of 30u knauis quhat ane vthir sais. ande quhen 3e hef flyttyn ande berkit but ryme or rason al the lang daye, 3e accord nocht nor condiscendis pru- 31 dently on ane substancial constant purpose, and he that is the maist cummirsum cryar, ande maist obstinat con- They follow the trar raison, 3e reput hym for the maist prudent man of prator, like sheep. the realme. than quhen he gois, al the leaue rynnis & follouis hym, lyik the brutal scheip that vil nocht pas 36

their betters.

1 throught the slop of ane dyik for the mannessing of there hyrd, quhil ane of the verst of the flok mak foir gait, than al the leave follouis. ande al this procedis of zour variance and inconstant, i vait nocht quhiddir ane calme sey in vyntir, or the course of the mune, or ane mysty mornyng in symmyr, or the comont pepil, quhilk

of them suld preffer vthirs in variance. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpos, sayand, in imperitia

multitudine est varietas, & inconstantia. & 10 crebra tanquam tempestatum, sic sententiarum

They are fickle in their minds.

Cicero pre domo sua.

Better the counsel commutatio, i hed leuyr hef the jugement ande con of ten prudent wiedom of the commons.

[\* leaf 99 (111)] Cicero pro plancio.

They jump to conclusions at first sight.

The civil law forbids all combinations of the

men, than all the sultatione of ten prudent vyise men, nor til hef al the visdome and consaitis that ane grite mutiplie of comountis can pronunce. Ci'cero confermis this samyn purpose. grauior & validior est decem virorum bonorum prudentia, quam totius multitudinis 17 imperitie, there is nocht ane mayr ignorant, & ane mair blynd thyng in this varld, as is til adhere to the iugement of the comont pepil, quhilk hes nothir consideratione nor rason. for al there deliberations procedis of there fyrst apprehensions, there for gyf the entrepricis of the comont pepil cummis tyl ane gude fine, 23 fortone deseruis mair louvng<sup>1</sup> nor dois there prudens. Siclyik as ane blynd man that passis in ane myrk place quhar he hed neuir beene, & syne eschapis fra ane hurt, or fra ane fal. na vyis men vil saye that this blyind man seis cleir, for it vas chance that conuoyit hym, and nocht his een, for this cause the civil lauis deffendis & forbiddis al monopoles and conventions of the comont pepil, be cause the maist part of them ar euil 2 con-

> 31 dicionet, & ar obedient to there apetitis and to there glaykyt affections. i can nocht conpair the comont pepil that ar onbridilit, bot ontyl beystis<sup>8</sup> that ar of ane var nature nor brutal beystis, as ve maye see daly. for brutal beystis keipis ane bettir ordour in there

common people.

They are worse than brute beasts.

l lonyng

s enil \* tyl onbeistis

beystly nature nor dois onbridilit co'mount pepil that [\* 18 99 (111), bk] ar dotit vitht rason. ve maye see be experiens, that their own kind, horse, nolt, scheip, doggis, voluis, lyons, ande al vthir brutal beystis, ilk ane vil deffend there auen natur con- 4 trar the violens of vthir beystis, as cicero sais, bestie pro partu suo ita propungnant, & vulnera ex- Cicero questi. cipiant, nullos impetus, nullos casus formident. Bot it is nocht siklyik amang the pepil, for euerye man settis his felicite to distroy his nychtbour.1 Ande also the ondantit brutal beystys that hes there 10 liberte on feildis & forrestis, none of them eytis, and eat, drink, drynkis, nor sleipis, bot quhen ther natural appetit re- when nature quiris. nor the mail vitht the femmel committis nocht requires. the verkis of natur, bot in the saison of generatione. bot the pepil that hes liberte kepis nocht sa gude rege- 15 ment. for thai considir nothir the vertu of temporance, nor the vice of intemporance, bot rathere subjectis them But the people selfis to saciat ony sperk of the foul lust, that there disordinat sensual appetit prouokis them tyl ymagine, as to eyt, drynk, and aleip abufe mesure at al tymis, 20 contrar there natural appetit. ande alse to conmit for- lustral, nicatione, adultere, homocide, ande diuerse vthir extorsions & iniuris contrar there nychtbour, there for unbridled. tha 'deserue to be reput mair brutal, nor beystis that [\* leaf 100 (112)] ar brutal of natur. Ande quhou beit that sum of them Some are steady applyis them to vertu, quhen thai ar haldin in subjection, throught the quhilk thai be cum industreus in when forced. policie ande in conquessing of reches, be marchandreise, 28 or be mechanyc craftis, or be lauboryng of the corn landis, or be seruise,2 3it nochtheles, as sune as ony of them, be sic honest industreus ocupations, hes conqueist But when they grit reches or heretagis, thai be cum mair ambicius ande arrogant nor ony gentil man sperutual or temporal, that they are worse ar discendit of the maist nobil barons of the cuntre. classes; ande there childir, distitut of civilite, throught the 35

and sleep, only are intemperate,

1 mychtbour

and their children are ignorant, vain, prodigal, Philistinish.

1 ignorance of there fathers, ande for falt of educatione and eruditione, thai be cum vane, prodig, ande arrogant, be cause that succeid sa eysilie to reches witht out the suet of there brouis, or pane of there body, nocht heffand regarde to the fyrst pouerte of there predecessours, nor of the cald, hungir, ande punirite that 7 there fathirs and mothers indurit in the conquessing of sic reches, ande gyf sa beis that ony of the successours of mecanyc men (that is to save the successours of [" If 100 (115), bt] lauberaris to burght ande land) be promouit til ony stait abuse there faculte, as to be saruandis to men of

> autorite, or to be courticians ande officiaris to princis, 13 or git to be promouit to benefeissis, or tyl ony vthir digniteis abufe there qualite, than arrogance makkis ypocryse manifest, conformand til ane addagia of ane of the seuyn sapientis callit mimus publianus, qua said,

Their elevation makes them manifest.

The stone tests

the gold, the gold the man.

There is nothing more odious than a parvenu who misknows himself;

of their parents. and deny their own genealogy.

They become the

worst of tyrants.

lapis index auri, aurum hominum. for it is the nature of the comont pepil (beand ascendit in dignite abufe there faculte) to mysken them selfis, there frendis, There is nocht ane mair odius ande there familiaris. thyng in this varld, as quhen the successour of ane indigent ignorant mechanyk lauberar ascendis tyl ony dignite abufe his qualite, for incontinent eftir his pro-24 motione, he myskennis god ande man. asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum. Titus liuius rehersis ane passage conformand to this samyn Barbarici animi est cum fortuna mupurpose. such are ashamed tare fidem. there is sum of thir mecanyc pepil heffand superflu prosperite, that refusis the genoligie of there fathere ande mothere, and alse refusis there sur-31 name, and clamis to be of the blude of nobilis ande [\* leaf 101 (113)] gentil men. than quhen thai ar repute be the vulga ris to be discendit of sic genoligie, thai gloir in there pretendit kyn ande blude, quhilk is occasione that there arrogance & there vane gloir garris them commit mair

36 extorsions contrar the pepil nor dois ony vthir tirran

that ar discendit of the grytest nobilis of the cuntre. 1 the preist of peblis speris ane questione in ane benk or the question that he conpilit, quhy that burges ayris thryuis nocht of Poebles. to the thrid ayr: bot he mycht hef sperit as veil, quhy that the successours of the vniuersal comont pepil baytht to burght & land, thryuis nocht to the thrid 6 ayr. the solutione of this questione requires nocht ane how burghers' heirs thrive not allogoric expositione, nor git ane glose, be rason that to the shire the text of yis1 questione is nocht obscure. ane person that hed neuyr adversite & hes veltht that procedit neuyr of his auen industrie, & syne hes liberte, and hes 11 neueir knauen education, eruditione, nor ciuilite, it is onpossibil that he can be verteous, and he that heytis Wealth, without vertu, sal neuyr thryue. (O my tongest soune) this ends in vice. ansuer maye be sufficient to the seueir accusatione that thou hes pronuncit contrar thy tua brethir. in tyme to cum thou sal fyrst correct thy self or thou accuse thy 17 nychtbour.3

## 'T Auhou the affligit lady accusis hir eldest son: [- 11 101 (112), 1k] ne callit the nobilis and gentil men.

#### CHAP. XVII.

MY eldest sonne (nobilis) this seueir reproche The faults of the contrar thy gongest brother, is no occasione to must not make gar the gloir, for gyf thou hed grace to ken thyself, thou vald sune persaue, that thy vicius lyif deseruis ane mair extreme reproche, for the vice of thy 25 30ngest brother suld be supportit be rason of his ignorance ande of his pouerte, bot thou can have na excusatione to cullour thy mischeuous conversation, ande the violent extorsions that thou daly committis contrar thy tua brethyr, lauberaris & clergie. ande alse thou art 30

1 read bis, i. c. this 3 mychtbour s nenyr

The nobility and gentlemen have scarcely a spark of nobleness or them.

the special cause of my runyne, for thou ande thy sect that professis 30u to be nobilis ande gentil men, there or notioness or pentioness among is notht ane sperk of nobilnes nor gentrice amang the 5 ascribis sa grit gloir of your pretendit gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil discrive the stait of nobilnes ande gentilnes, to that effect that 3e may persaue 3our grit error.

Wherein consists nobility. [\* leaf 108 (114)] A villain or earl the opposite of a gentleman.

maist part of 3ou. Ande nou be cause mony of 3ou ¶ THE PHILOSOPHOVRS ande iuris-consultours in the anciant dais, her 'familiarly discriuit one

thing be the contrar thyng. thai gart the discriptione

of ane vilaine (quhilk ve cal ane carl in our scottis

langage) manifest the conditions of ane gentil man. siclyik thai gart the discriptione of ane gentil man 14 manifest the conditione of ane villaine be rason that ane gentil man, or ane nobil man, ande ane villaine. hes direct contrar conditions; & sa be the discriptione of ony ane of thir tua contrareis, tha gat ane solide knaulage of the tothir. Siklyik guhen thai discriuit

19 vertu, tha fyrst delatit ande payntit the conditions of vice, ande quhen thai discriuit liberte, thai fyrst payntit ande dilatit the conditions of seruitude. nou sen this purpos hes occurrit to speik of gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil fyrst discrive the origine of gentil

there was no difference of conditions.

24 men, be the quhilk 3e may knau, quha is ane vilaine. Bot fyrst i man reherse the stait of the pepil that var In the golden age, in the gude anciant dais, quhilk sum men callit the goldin varld. there vas na defferens of staitis at that tyme amang men, nothir in preeminens, dignite, superi-29 orite, nor honour, for at that tyme al men var egal, &

nocht partial nor deuidit, for the pepil lyuit al to [\*16102 (114), bk] gydthir in ane tranquil & louabil commu'nite, ande thai left no thing to there posterite bot regrettis for the Habita were alteratione of that gude varld. in thai dais, the pepil simple, and eit nor drank nocht bot quhen hungir constrenzet them, tastes natural.

& than there maist delegat refectione vas acquorns, 36 vyild berreis, green frutis, rutis & eirbis, ande thai

Of the origin of gentlemen.

drank the fresche vattir. at sum tyme thay past in the 1 forrestis to the course and hunting, and sleu vyild beystis, syne dryit the flasche at the sune or thai eit it. and that that var of maist tendir conplexione, couurit them vitht the skynnis of tha vyild beystis to keip them fra cald. At that tyme ther was no ceremonial They kept no reuerens nor stait, quha suld pas befor or behynd, coremony, furtht or in at the dur, nor zit quha suld haue the 8 dignite to vasche ther handis fyrst in the bassine, nor nor laws of 3it quha suld sit doune fyrst at the tabil. at that tyme precedence. the pepil var as reddy to drynk vattir in ther bonet, or in the palmis of ther handis, as in ane glas, or in ane tasse of siluyr. At that tyme thai lay al to gydthir in 13 ane cauerne, as dois presently the sophistic egiptiens. thai purgit ther belleis, ande excercit the verkis of There was no nature, ilk ane in vthirs presens vitht out schame, re- offence taken proche, or offens. than ane lang tyme there eftir, nature [\* leaf 105 (115)] prouokit them to begyn sum litil police. for sum of them began to plant treis, sum to dant beystis, sum 19 gadthrid the frutis, ande kepit them quhil on to the tyme of necessite, ande sum neurist there childir. at that tyme the pepil drank nothir vyne nor beir, nor na They drank no vthir confekkit drynkis. at that tyme straynge cuntreis var nocht socht to get spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis, & norfetched spices, succur for to mak exquisit electuars to prouoke the guma, or sugar, pepil til ane disordinat appetit. At that tyme, there lands to spot vas no sumpteous clethyng of fine claytht and of gold their appetites. & silk of diverse fassons, at that tyme in the begyn- 28 nyng of ther police, coppir, bras, and yrn and vthir The metals were mettellis var meltit to mak vtensel veschel necessair to utensils, serue ane houshald, and var nocht meltit to be gunnis not for cannons ande cannons to sla doune the pepil. Ande nou sen that goldin varld is past, ther hes succedit ane yrn varld, quhilk hes altrit energe gude thing in infelicite 34 and myscheif, for meiknes is changit in maleis, trauail The Iron age in ydilnes, rest in excesse, pace in veyr, eyse in pane, COMPLAYNT. 10

herbs, drugs, from distant

used for domestic

and guns.

Everything is perverted.

To secape oppression men chose rulers from among the strong and prudent.

I loue in hatrent, cherite in crualte, justice in extorsions, almis in thyft, kyndnes in persecutione, supporting of ignorance in detractione, pitie in rigor, ande faytht in [° 1f 108 (115), bk] 'ypocrysie, and sa euyrie thing is altrit fra ane gude stait in ane abhominabil qualite. The cause of this 6 alteratione hes procedit fra the euyl conditions of men that began tyl oppresse there nychtbours. ande til eschaip sic oppressione, the pepil chesit ane certan of gouvernours of the maist robust & maist prudent to be there deffendours, ande alse thai randrit them tributaris ande subjectis to there said gouvernours & there gou-12 uernours gat for ther panis and laubyr, the butin and

spulze that thai conqueist fra the tirran oppressours, Thai gouvernours var sa nobil in there aven curage, that thai distribut the maist part of the butine ande spulze amang the pepil that hed vsit them maist vailzeantly contrar there enemeis, ande thai that var 18 lasche couuardis gat nothing. Of this sort began the

fyrst nobilnes ande gentreis in the varld, for thai that var vailzeant, thai var reput for nobilis ande gentil men, ande thai that var vicius & couuardis, var reput The chartagiens vsit that for vilainis ande carlis. sammyn fassoune ane lang tyme, for thai gaue to the

So it was among the Cartha. ginians.

Thus began

nobility.

the Romans.

he ancient Germans.

sodiours that bure them maist vailgeantly contrar there [\* leaf 104 (116)] enemeis, ane certan of gold ringis, for ane 'takyn of perpetual nobilite. Siklyik euyrie vailgeant roman 27 sodiour vas crounit vitht ane croune on his hede in the Macedonians, takyn of nobilite. The macedoniens vsit that sammyn vse ane lang tyme; ande quhen ane macedonien hed nocht venqueist ane of his enemeis, he vas bundin til ane post, ande degradit fra his nobilite. in ald tymis in germanye, ane alman vas ay repute for ane villain quhil on to the tyme that he vas mareit, and he gat neuvr lecens to marye quhil on to the tyme that he hed

1 mychtbours

35 presentit the hede of ane of his enemeis to the kyng of

germanye. Siklyik in sythia at ane banket of tryumphe, and the the kyng presentit ane goldin tasse ful of vyne to the companye at the tabil. bot nane of them vas admittit 3 to drynk in that tasse, bot sa mony as hed venqueist ane of there enemeis in ane conflict; for he that hed neuyr dune ane vailgeant act contrar his enemeis, vas reput for ane inciuile villaine. Mardocheus conqueist so Mordeen and the gre of nobilite fra artaxerxes throught his vertu, ennobled. ande Ioseph<sup>2</sup> vas maid ane gentil man be pharaon for Than the successours of thir nobil men var 10 repute for gentil men as lang as thai vait verteous verkis of nobilite, as did 'there predecessours. tyme that the successours of thir nobil men be cam vicius, than tha var degradit fra there nobilite ande fra there gentreis, and thai var repute for inciuile vilaynis. 15 Valerius maximus rehersis the nobilite of scipio the Valerius affrican, quha hed ane soune that vas nothir vailgeant maximus, nor verteous.3 on ane daye, he beand clethid in ane of the degenerate lang quhyt goune as the vse vas to be borne at the dis- Africanus. tributione of the officis of rome, he desirit the office of pretoir at the senat, on ane place callit campus martius. 21 At that tyme, his frendis cam til hym, & but reuerens thai reft fra hym ane signet of gold that vas on his fingare, vitht in the quhilk was grauit his fathers hede, sayand til hym, o inperfect ande vicius contrafait gentil man, thou deseruis nocht to veyr this nobil signet, witht in the quhilk is grauit thy fathers hede, con- 27 siderand that thou hes nothir vertu nor vailgeantnes; there for ve degraid the fra the nobilite ande gentreis, True nobility that thou pretendit to succeid to, be the deceisse of thy This exempil of scipio makkis manifest, that fathere. na man can mereit or can be capabil of nobilnes or gentreis bot gyf tha be verteous. There for that stait of gentreis is ane accidental qualite, in sa far as it may [ leaf 105 (117) cum til ane persoune be his vertu, ande he maye be 35 3 verteons

Bot fra ["H 104 (116), bk]

son of Scipio

The true use of Armorial bearings.

degradit fra it for his vice. (O my eldest soune nobilis and gentil men) the armys that 3e bair in 30ur scheildis and in your sevlis in your signetis, and alse is payntit on zour vallis, & in zour glasyn vindois, thai var gyuyn 5 to your predecessours be the prince for ane takyn of nobilnes, for the nobil actis that thay hed dune for the comont veil of the realme, & 3e that ar there successours to bayr the samyn armis for ane takyn that to ar obleist to follou the futsteppis of your predecessours in 10 vertu, or ellis se merit to be degradit fra the armis that 3e bair, & fra the gentreis that 30 professe, as vas dune tyl zong scipio befor rehersit. There is diverse princis

Orders and knighthood given for valiant acts.

16 empriour makkis the order of knychthed of the fleise, the kyng of France makkis the ordour of the cokkil. the kyng of ingland makkis the ordour of knychthede of the gartan. None of thir knychtis resauls thir hie [ \* If 106 (117), bk] digniteis, throught ane affective? \*love that there prince hes touart them, bot rathere for the vailzeant actis that there prince hes knauen them til haue committit for

that gyffis the tryumphe of knychted and nobilite, vitht

leuerairis, armis ande heretage 1 to them that hes committit vailzeant actis in the veyris, siklyik as the

Valerius maximus in the cheptor of tryumphe.

The Romans ordsined a triumph for those who distinguished themselves in war,

ther public veil. The romans in the anciant dais ordand ane tryumphe of nobilite to be gyffin to them 25 that hed borne them maist vailzeantly contrar the enemeis of rome. The ordour of there tryumphe vas of this sort. quhen ony romane hed dune ane vailgeant act, he vas set in ane charriot veil acoutreit, quhilk vas drauen vitht foure horse, be cause in the anciant dais 30 the romans vsit to fecht in battel in charriotis. he that hed venqueist his enemye be straikis ande strang battel, he vas crounit vitht ane palme of gold, be rason that the palme tre hes schearp broddis and And he that hed venqueist his enemye be 35 practik of veyr, ande sleu and tuke his enemeis fleand

crowning them with palm,

fra the battel vitht out hurt til hym, he vas crounit 1 vitht ane croune of laure tre, be cause the laure tre hes or with learel. no schearp broddis nor pikis. This last tryumphe of laure tre vas callit tropheum, quhilk singnifeis ane joyful victoree, for the victoree is joyful quhen the enemeis are venqueist vitht out domage to the venquesair. 6 guhen thir romans entrit in rome to 'resaue there [ • leat 105 (118)] tryumphe for ther vailgeant actis, the senat, the gentil men, and the comont pepil met them in there best array vitht grit solempnite, and syne conuoyit them to the plane mercat befor the capitol to resaue there 11 tryumphe of dignite, as tha hed deseruit. Bot allace (o ze my eldest sone nobilis ande gentil men) there is None of the nocht mony of 30u that meritis to veyr the ensenge of deserve any such the fleise, of the cokkil, nor of the gartan, nor 3it there honours. is nocht mony of you that meritis to be borne in ane charriot to resaue the tryumphe of the palme tre nor of 17 the laure tre; for your imbecilite, auereis, ande contentione that ringis amang 30u, rather descruis degrading fra zour pretendit gentreis, nor ze deseruel louyng or commendation for vertu. There for 3e ar in grit error quhen 3e professe 3ou to be gentil men, & syne com- 22 mittis no actis efferand for your professione; bot vald 3e considir the origine of 3our gentreis, than 3e vald nocht be sa arrogant as to desire the gloir and the stait They are of ane dignite that 3e deserve nocht. There is mony their position. of you that professis to be gentil men be successione of 30ur predecessours, bot 3e considir nocht that 'the gre [ " 11 105 (115), bk] of gentreis procedis fra vertu. The philosophour sais that the cause of ane thing is of mair efficacite nor is 30 the thyng that proced is fra the cause: ergo, vertu suld preffer the successours of verteous men. Ane verteous It is better to be man beand discendit of ane verteous genoligie, doutles self than draw he is ane rycht gentil man. and in opposit, ane vicius the virtuous. man beand discendit of verteous genoligie, he suld be 35

Scottish nobles

The son of a prince, wanting virtue, is no

plebien: ande alse thai suld be degradit fra there gentreis that thai have ascribit til have be successione, ande thai suld be conpellit to virk vile mecanyk laubir, to that effect that the honour of verteous gentil men be 6 nocht maculat vitht the vice ande incivilite of vicius pretendit gentil men. There for as i have said of befor, the sone of ane prince beand distitut of vertu is no gentil man; ande in opposit, ane sone of ane mechanyc plebien, beand verteous, he is ane gentil man. for that cause the poiet francis petrarch a florentyne said, i hed

1 reput mair vile and odius nor ony infamous vilaine

12 leuyr be the sone of vicius tarsites, i vsand ane verteous conversatione, nor to be the sone of the vailgeant
achilles, i beand vicius. The philosophour plutarque
[\* leaf 107 (119)] rehersis, that iphicrates 'vas ane pure mecanyk craftis

[- sent ret (119)]

The answer of Iphicrates to Hermodius.

man discendit of inciuil plebiens, 3it nochtheles throught
17 his vertu he vas elect to be kyng of the cuntre, there
vas ane vicius gentil man at that tyme callit hermodius,
quha reprocht iphicrates, sayand, o iphicrates, it efferis
nocht for thy stait & faculte to be ane kyng, be rason
that thy father vas ane mecanyc tailgour discendit of
inciuile pure pepil; there for thou art nocht ane gentil
23 man. iphicrates ansuert, o hermodius, throught my
vertu my successours sal be reput gentil men, and sa
my gentreis begynnis at myself; bot thou ande thy
gentreis sal end to gydthir, & thy successours sal be
reput for vilaynis, be cause of thy vicius conuersatione.
This exempil makkis manifest, that ane person may
29 succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his prede-

29 succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his predecessours, bot no man can succeid to gentreis nor to vertu; for vertu<sup>4</sup> & gentreis most proceid fra the spreit of hym self, and nocht fra his predecessours. iuuenal the poiet rehersis, that buciphal the grit horse of allexander hed mony comodius propreteis, for as sune

The contrast hetween Bucephalus

35 as he sau alexander, he knelit ande maid hym reuer-

rens, ande syne tholit hym to lope on hym; & alse 1 'he vas strynthy ande auful in ane battel contrar the [\*1f 107 (119), bk] enemeis of alexander; ande quhen he vas saidlyt vitht his best bayrdit harnessing, he vald thole no man to ryde on hym bot alexander. This samyn horse busiphal and another hed ane brother, generit and folit of the samyn horse same aire and and meyr that folit hym. this tothir horse vas grit, fayr, and gude lyik, bot nochtheles the maist perfyit 8 industreus horse dantars of macedon culd nocht gar hym be veil bridilit nor manerit<sup>2</sup> in na comodius sort convenient to serve ane prince, quhar for he vas nocht treittit, bot rather deiekkit ande chaissit to the vyild barran feildis to seik his meyt, ande oft tymis he vas 13 put in ane cart to drug and drau, quhar he vas euyl dung & broddit.

horse from the

This exempil maye be conferrit to tua brethir gottin so is it often ande borne of ane fathere & mother. ane of them in a family. beand verteous, suld be reput for ane gentil man, and the tother beand vicius, suld be estemeit and treittit 19 lyik ane barbir inciuil vilaine. There hes been diuerse some gentlemen gentil men that thynkis schame that there fathers and their and mothers, gudschers and grandscheirs, hes bene mechanyc plebiens.8 Bot sic vane gentil men takkis nocht exempil of agathocles the kyng of cecile, quha vas the [\* leaf 108 (120)] sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis; git nochtheles king of Sicily, guhen he vas elect in dignite royal, he gart gold smythis 26 grave ane pot in his armys on everye pece of his siluyr veschel, and alse he gart paynt the vallis of his palleis vitht pottis, the quhilk thing he did to manifest to the pepil that he thocht no schame that his father hed who boasted that been ane mecanyc craftis man discendit of ane pure potter. genoligie, it is ane grit foly til ane person to pretend Innenal, to gentreis be successione, or be reches. inuenal 4 con- Satiric. 7. fermis this samyn purpos, no bilitas sola est animum

que moribus ornat; and the vordis of ouid ar con- 35

3 mechanyt blebiens 1 repertens <sup>3</sup> manerir • innenal I sonant to this samyn, Non census nec clarum nomen auorum, sed probitas magnum ingeniumque facit.

How vain the boast of high ancestry! Beiocus de consolations philosophic. li. 8.

There for it is grit arrogance, and na les folie, quhen ony person gloris in his hie genoligie, considerand that cuyre person is discendit of ane origyne, as boiecius de consolatione hes rehersit in his thrid beuk. Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit 9 ab ortu. there for, vald euyrie man considir his fyrst origyne, he sal fynd that al man kynd ar creat of mud and clay, as is vritin in the sycond cheptour of genesis, [\* If ies (180), bk] Formauit igitur hominem de 'limo terre. ande Ecclesiastic, 10, 9, alse I hesus sirach sais in the 10 cheptour of ecclesiasticus, quhar he repreuis the gloir ande pride of men, 15 quid superbis terra et cinis, that is to say, quhou ar 3e becum predeful & takkis gloir in this varld, considerand that se ar bot eird ande puldir? it is vrityn on the 18 cheptour of genesis, loquar ad dominum

cum sim puluis & cinis1. that is to say, i sal speik

vrityn in the 17 cheptour of ecclesiasticus, Omnes

homines terra et cinis1, al men ar eird ande alse. Thir exemplis suld be occasione to gar gentil men

begins in mud and clay.

The longest line

Genesis 18, 27.

20 to the lord, quhou be it i am bot puldir ande asse. it is Ecclesiastic, 17.

Men should therefore have as their armorial bearings dust, ashes, and earth.

The dust makes no respect of persons.

paynt in there scheildis, ande graue in there signetis, puldir, ase, ande eirde, rather nor til haue gart paynt ande graue the armis of there predecessours, be rason 27 that fra tyme that that he aryuit to the fine ande to the limitis of there percegrinatione of this mortal lyif, than thai returne to there comont ande general mothere the eird, the quhilk eird makkis na acceptions of persons, nor defferens of qualiteis betuix gentil men, and mecanyc men, bot resauis them al indefferently in hir domicil and receptacle. than quhen the corrupit flesche [\* leaf 100 (121)] is consumit fra the banis, no man can put defferens

35 betuix ane prince [and] ane begger. The historigraph-

ours rehersis, that quhen kyng cirus hed venqueist How Crossus kyng cresus, he led hym til his paleis, ande treittit hym mair humainly nor is the vse to treit presoneirs. 3 On ane day, cresus spak hardyly to kyng cirus, sayand, Nobil prince, the vulgaris ascribis grite gloir for the vailgeant actis that thou hes committit for the public veil of perse ande meid, 3it nochtheles thy father that he did not cambises did mair vailgeant actis in his tyme nor thou ther Cambres hes dune. kyng cresus vas temerair in his question, for in valour. cirus vas offendit contrar kyng cresus, thinkand that 10 ane presoneir suld nocht haue bene sa bold as til reproche ane prince that haldis hym in captiuite. Than cresus, persauand kyng cirus in collere and ire, he said, cyrus was nobil prince, gyf thy nobil grace vil gyf me lecens to rason the mater, thou sal sune persaue that i said no- 15 thing tyl offend the, bot rathere til augment thy gloir. i said that thy grace hed nocht dune sic ane vailgeant but Crossus act as thy fathere cambises did in his tyme, for he did plained away his ane nobil act quhen he engeneret the on thy mothere remark. to gouverne this realme eftir his deceisee, bot thou hes 20 nocht dune sic ane nobil act as 'to genner ane nobil [\*11199 (121), bk] prince lyik thy self to gouverne the realme quhen thou art dede.

Quhen kyng cirus herd the subtil discymilit pleisant 24 interpretatione of cresus vordis, he smylit and leuch, and changit his coller in glaydnes. bot zit kyng cirus cyrus recovered exortit cresus familiarlye tyl expone the just verite of but desired to Cresus ansuert, nobil prince, sen thou hes knowwhatCrus really meant. his vordis. coniurit me sa extremly to declair the verite, doutles i sal hald no thing obscure, quhou be it thou gar me 30 suffer the cruel detht. the occasione of my vordis procedit, be cause i iuge that thou art nocht sa quyk spretit, sa prudent nor sa nobil as vas thy fathere cam- The latter told bises, ande to conclude, thou hes nocht sic ane hede as not such a head he had in al his byssynes. kyng cirus ansuert, i sal

ingeniously ex-

him that he had as his father.

Cyrus tried to father's skull from the others in the [\* leaf 110 (1\$3)] family vault,

I sune knau the verite of thy purpos. than kyng cirus past to the tempil, ande he gart delue vp al the banis of the detht pepil furtht of there sepulture, and keist ouer euyrye bane, ande contemplit euyry hardyn pan, ane be anc. than cresus & vthir gentil men meruelit 6 nocht litil of his consait, sayand, ve exort the, nobil prince, to tel thy intentione of that byssynes. ansuert, o cresus, thou said, nocht lang syne, that my hede vas nocht 'to be comparit to my fathers hede; there for i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn

discern his

but all were allke, pan amang thir dede mennis banis, bot i can nocht ken 12 it among them, for all the hardyn pannis that ar heir ar al of ane sort: there for i beleue that my fathers hede ande my hede, and al vthir mennis hedis of pure ande riche, are but defferens: there for in tyme to cum thou sal mak na comparison betuix men, for i persaue that al

17 men that euyr vas, or euyr sal be, ar creat of ane masse all day and earth. of clay and eird. This exempil declaris that na man suld gloir in his nobilite or gentil blude, considerand that our carions ande corporal natur, and carnal origyne, is baytht vile ande infekkit, ande there is na! defferens 22 nor acceptions of persons betuix us. the prudent Salo-

Sapien. 7.

mon accordis vitht this samyn purpos in the 7 cheptor of his beuk of sapiens, sayand, sum quidem & ego mortalis homo similis omnibus de genere terreno illius qui prior factus est, & ce. Nemo

Wisdom of Solomon 7. 1-5.

27 enim ex regibus aliud habuit natiuitatis initium. i am ane mortal man (sais Salomon) lyik til al vthir men, creat of eird as vas our foir fathere adam, ande al vthir kyngis hed na vthir begynnyng, thir vordis [\*1(110(122), bk] of Salomon beand 'veil considerit, is ane souerane remeid

ande salutair medycyn to repreme and distroye the 33 arrogant consait of them that glorifeis & pridis them to be discendit of nobilis and gentil men, considerand that

The root of all nobility is in Adam.

succedit fra adam. ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal 1 lyif ve var naikyt and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve Naked we entered sal be vile and abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing naked we shall furtht of this varld bot the coulpe of our synnis, or the meritis of our vertu.

leave it.

¶ O my eldest soune, nobilis & gentil men, quhy 6 vil 3e nocht considir thir vordis befor rehersit! quhilk vordis suld be occasione to gar 30u mortife 30ur vane consait of your pretendit gentreis. 3e professe 3ou to be gentil men, bot your verkis testifeis that ze ar bot inciuile vilainis. 3e vald be reput & callit vertuous and honest, quhou be it that 3e did neuyr ane honest act; 12 and 3e reput vthir men for vilanis, that did neuvr ane vilaine act. it aperis that quhen 3our nobil predeces- When your fathers sours decessit, thai tuke ther vertu and gentreis vitht them to ther sepulture, and thai left na thing witht 30u bot the stile of there gentreis. the 'vordis of the holy [\*leef 111 (123)] man Iob maye be veil applyit to this samyn purpos 18 quhen he said, mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles sunt filij eorum. quod he, al nobil men ar decessit, & ther sonnis ande successours ar bot vilanis, the vordis of Iob ar ouer manifest in our cuntre, for i see no thing amang gentil men bot vice. for honestee is maculat, The vices of the ignorance is prisit, prudens is scornit, chestite is banneist, the nychtis ar ouer schort to gentil men to 25 commit<sup>1</sup> there libedeneus lust, and the dayis ar ouer schort to them to commit extorsions on the pure pepil. ther blasphematione of the name of god corruptis the The prodig pride that ringis amang gentil men is detestabil, nocht alanerly in costly clethyng abufe ther 30 stait, bot as veil in prodig expensis that thai mak on horse and doggis, abufe ther rent or reches. ane man is What they spend nocht reput for ane gentil man in scotland, bot gyf he dogs. mak mair expensis on his horse and his doggis nor he dois on his vyfe & bayrnis. The poiettis fengeis that 35

Diomedes was devoured by his horses.

and Actmon by his does.

the grecian dyameid hed horse that eit men, & alse thai hef fenget that acteon was transformit in ane hart, and there eftir he vas stranglit to dede vitht his auen doggis. [\*1(111 (123), bk] The expositione of 'thir tus exemplis maye be applyit 5 to the gentil men of scotland. The horse of diameid eit no men; bot the superflu & prodig expensis that he maid on come to feid ane grit numir of onutil horse. gart the victualis be deir and skant, quhilk vas occasione that the pure pepil deit for hungir, of this sort the 10 poiettis fenzeis that dyamedis horse eit men, be cause tha eit the corne that vald have sauit the lyuis of the pure pepil fra hungir. Siklyik acteon vas nocht transformit in ane hart, nor git his doggis sleu hym nocht. the expositione of this vas, that acteon vas ane vane 15 gentil man that set al his felicite on doggis for hunting, 1 on the quhilkis he maid ouer prodig expensis abufe his faculte, quhilk vas occasione that he sellit his heretage til entretene his vane pleseir, & ther eftir he fel in pouerte. ther for the poietis fenzeis that his doggis distroyit hym. alace ther is ouer mony horse in scotland lyik dyamedis horse that citis the pure pepil, and there is ouer mony doggis in scotland that virreis there 23 master as acteon vas virreit, i repreif nocht gentil men for the halding of horse & doggis; for horse ar necessair, and doggis ar for recreatione. bot i repreif the ouer [\*leaf 112 (121)] prodig ex\*pensis that sum gentil men makkis on horse

There are too many horses and dogs in Scotland that out men.

and doggis abufe ther stait and faculte. it var verray necessair and honest for ther auen veil that sic prodi-29 galite var moderat, the philosophour xenophon rehersis, that cirus kyng of perse and meid vas verray solist in hunting, ande he maid grit expensis on his horse, bot he gart sic expensis cum til ane gude effect. for he vsit hunting til excerse his gentil men to keip them fra ydilnes, ande he maid grit expensis on horse, be cause thai 35 var necessair for his veyris.

¶ O 3e my eldest soune, nobilis and gentil men, i 1 exort you to correct your selfis of the artiklis of this ac- Correct yourcusatione, and alse that 3e adhere til al verteous byssy- anits, with which nes, and that 3e accord and agre vitht 3our tua bredthir lauberaris ande clergie, to that effect that 3e may releif me of my afflictione. for doutles gyf that discentione 6 ande rancour remanis amang 30u, in schort dais 30ur ald enemeis sal ocupie zour heretagis and duelling placis, & the posterite of your generatione sal be put furtht of rememorance. Nou i vil saye ane familiar reproche, be the vay of correctione to my sycond soune, callit sperutu- 11 alite, to that effect, 'to gar 30u al thre brethir concur to ["11 112 (124), bk] gyddir on ane substancial constant gude purpos, for the deffens of your native cuntre!

selves from the

## ¶ Quhou the affligit lady Dame scotia repre= uis hir sprond soune, callit sperutualites.

### CHAP. XIX.

(my sycond soune) sperutualite, thou hes herd the 17 familiar repreif that i have pronuncit, be the vay of The faults correctione to thy tua brethir nobilis & lauberaris; nobility and bot my accusatione contrar them, is na purgatione to leave the clergy the. for thou descruis anotht alanerly ane mair inuectyue reproche for thy demeritis, bot as veil thou deseruis to 22 be puneist realy, & to be degradit fra thy holy office. the maist part of the vicis that thy tua brethir hes com- The two former mittit, maye be supportit & excusit, be rason of there are partly excusable on the ignorance; bot thou can nocht allege ignorance for thy ignorance; excusatione, considerand that god hes gyffin the his lau 27 in thy moutht to be distribut betuix the and thy tua but priests sin brethir, as is vrityn in the sycond cheptour of the prophet malachias, quhilk sais, labia enim sacer- malachias, 2. 1 cuutre 2 affoit 3 sperualite 4 deservie 5 demerris

charged upon the

cap.

1 dotis custodiunt scientiam, & legem requirent [\*leaf lis (iss)] ex ore eius, quia an gelus domini exercituum est, that is to say, the lippis of the preist sal keip the sciens of god, and the pepil sal desire the lau to be schauen to them, furtht of his moutht, be cause he is 6 the messengeir of the lord. O thou my sycond soune, this autorite that god hes gyuyn to the, is vondir grit.

God has given the ther for sen god hes dotit thy faculte in maist honorabil clergy many talente ;

dignite and autorite, abufe the stait of thy tua brethir,

nocht alanerly in the knaulege of diuyne sciens, bot als veil in humanite as in til sciens liberalis, & in moral & 12 natural philosophie, the quhilk gracis and propreteis ar nocht grantit be god for thy particularite, bot rather god

hes ordand the to be ane dispensatour of his gyftis amang the ignorant pepil. ther for I vald thou var solist solicitous to use to distribute the talent that the lord gef til his saruand.

them;

let them be

let them promote unity,

and reform their own negligence.

Let them correct their long-standing abuses.

"Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works."

And thou can nocht distribut it bettir nor to purches vnite and concord betuix the and thy tua brethir; for the prudens and autorite that the lord hes gyffin to the, 20 suld suppreme ther ignorante error, & obstination. Ther for, as lang as thou ar neclegent in thy office, sa lang sal ther ay be discentione, discord, & hatrent in the realme, quhilk sal be occasione of thy auen ruuyne. [\*16113 (125), bk] 'Ther for i exort the til animaduert and to perpend ere it be too late. maturly thir vordis, in drede that thou repent thy neclegens quhen thou hes na laszar nor oportunite to 27 remede thy abusion.

> And fyrst, to begyn, thou suld set al thy felicite, to correct thy self of thy lang abusione, that is to say, thou suld gyf gud exempil in thy conversatione, conformand to thy professione and to thy doctryn, to that effect that the pure pepil may follou thy futsteppis, as is vritin in Mathou, Luc, and Ihone, sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, vt videant opera ves-

Ther for that hes autorite, and gyfis 35 tra bona.

euyl exempil, suld be mair realye puneist, nor the pepil An evil example suld be that contemnis and disobeys ther authorite. it than disobediis vritin in the brasyn tablis of the antiant lauis of ence. rome, that there was mair rigorus punitione exsecutit on 4 ane man of autorite that gef euyl exempil, nor vas exsecutit on murdresaris and tratours. Romulus the fyrst or the rigour of kyng of rome, institut ane lau amang the ytaliens, that the crimes of men transgressours suld be puneist mercyfully efferand for the qualite of ther crymis; and alse he statut, that 9 quhen men of autorite and dignite committit thai samyn crymis, tha var led and con uoyit dishonestly to the [\*leaf 114 (126)] plane marcat befor the capitol, quhar thay resauit doubil punitione, be cause the euyl exempil of ther maluersatione prouokyt the pepil til adhere to vice, & 14 to detest vertu. Hermes the philosophour said, that How Hermes the error & the euvl exempil of ane man of autorite man in office to maye be comparit til ane onexpert master of ane schip, ship-master. quhilk, throught his misgouernance, is occasione that the schip pereseis, and tynis nocht hym self alanerly, bot as veil he tynis al them that ar of his companye. 20 ther for, it var verray necessair that men of autorite, or ministers of the kyrk, do gyf gude exempil in ther conuersation, to that effect that the ingnorant pepil may follou ther futsteppis. The philosophour plutarque re- The fable of the hersis ane exempil of the partan, quhilk repreuit ane of groung ones, hyr 3ong partans, be cause the 3ong partan vald nocht gang euyn furtht, bot rather sche zeid crukit, bakuart, 27 and on syd. than the zong partan ansuert, quod sche, mother, i can nocht gang of my auen natur as thou biddis me, bot nochtheles, vald thou gang furtht rycht befor me, than i sal leyrn to follou thy futsteppis. This showing that exempil tendis, that the discipil follouis the conuersa- followed rather tione of his preceptor, rather nor he followis his [\*16 114 (125), bk] doctrine. allace o my sune sper[it]ualite, the abusion of The clergy and thy office is the cause of the discentione that is betuin Hve like cate and the and the temporal stait, for 3e tua ar lyike cattis and dogs.

of authority.

an incapable

sondnet is

temporal rulers

There is none to better another, for there is none good to start with,

I doggis berkkand on vthirs, ther for ther is nocht ane of 30u bettir nor ane vthir. for that cause the gramariaris can fynd na greis of comparaison in your gudnes, for that terme', bettir, is of the comparatyue gree, and that terme gude, is of the positive gree, the quhilk positive gree is nocht in mony of 30u conformand tyl ane reul of the lau. L. cum furti, ff. de condi, furti, the quhilk 8 reul sais, comparatiuus presupponit posituum. Quhar for i exort the (o my veil belouit sone speritualite) to correct thy maluersatione. for quhen the pepil disobeyis thy gude doctryne throught the euyl exempil

of thy maluersatione, thou sal be mair doubil puneist 13 nor the sal be for the disobediens of thy gude doctryne,

be rason that god hes gyffin to the, baytht knaulage and

Your abuses and meledministre tion are the special cause of the great schism in Christendom.

[\* leaf 115 (127)] The sects have their roots in Germany, Denmark, and England, but are widely diffused.

The schism will never be healed by persecution or burning

till the Spirituality amend themselves.

autorite to gouverne ther ignorance, doutles thy abusione, and the sinister ministratione of thy office, is the special cause of the scisma and of divers sectis that trublis al cristianite. & quhou beit that the rute of thir scismes and sectis be 'in germane, denmark and ingland, git nochtheles the branchis of them ar spred athort al cristin realmis in sic ane sort, that tha hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris, for diuerse men desiris 23 ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk, be cause of the abusione and euyl exempil of the kyrk And this plag and scisma sal neuyr be reformit for na statutis, lauis, punitions, bannessing, byrnyng, havrschip, nor torment that can be deuisit, quhil on to 28 the tyme that the speritualite reforme ther auen abusion. ther for, gyf the speritualite var as solist to reforme and to correct ther auen maluersatione as tha ar solist to puneise them that detrakkis & murmeris ther obstinat abusione, than for certan the gude exempil of ther gude conversatione vald extinct and supedeit mair haistyar al peruerst opinions & scismas nor al the punitione that The punitione that the 35 al cristianite can exsecut.

1 terne

sperutualite remanent in ther abusione exsecutis on Punishment of scismatikis, maye be comparit til ane man that castis no avail; vive on ane heyt birnand fyir, in hope til extinct it, it is like pouring and to droune it furtht, the quhilk vlye makkis the fyir mair bold nor it was of befor. the experiens of this is 5 manifest; for, as su'ne as ther is ane person slane, [\*1f 115 (127), bk] brynt, or bannest for the halding of perue[r]st opinions, incontinent ther rysis up thre in his place; ther for sic punitione maye be comparit tyl ane serpent callit hydra, quhilk hed seuyn heydis. The poietis rehersis, 10 that guhen this said serpent vas assailet be men to sla hyr, and quhen thir men straik ane or tua of hyr or cutting off one heydis fra hyr, than sche fleid tyl her cauerne, and on Hydra, the morne vthir tua heydis vald be grouuen on hyr as in room of which of befor, and of this sort sche did grit domage baytht to man and beyst, quhil on to the tyme that nobil Hercules venqueist hyr; than he straik al hyr seuyn 17 hevdis fra hyr. fra that tyme furtht sche lyuit neuyr agane. this exempil tendis, that the scisma that ringis The schism will in this varld sal neuyr be extinct for na punitione that out" by a can be exsecutit, bot gyf al the heydis of the vniuersal massacre, or cristianite be strikkyn fra them, or ellis bot gyf the eured by a selfministers reforme & correct ther auen abusione.

Quhar for (o my sone speritualite) i exort the that 24 thou cause al thy membris concur to gyddir to mak Let them then reformatione of the sklanderous abusione that ringis their scandalous amang them, ande ther eftir thou sal treit vnite and abuses, concord be tuix the universal leigis of scotland be the [\* leaf 116 (128)] maist familiar ande cheritabil vaye that thy ingyne 29 can inuent or ymagyn, to that effect that 3e my thre and thereafter sonnis, nobilis, clergie, & lauberaris, may pas in ane national unity. faythful accord to resist the cruel invasions of your dissaitful and incredule ald enemeis. Thou hes mair occa- The clergy have sione and mystir to be vigiland in the deffens of the more cause to fear the influence liberte of thy faculte, nor hes thy tua brethir; for gyf of England than the kyng of ingland prospir in his oniust veyris, and 36 COMPLAYNT.

two others grew.

only be "stamped clergy.

try to promote

spared,

but the clergy will get only the tender mercies of Henry VIII.

1 conquessis our realme, doutles thy tua brethir vil The latty may be tyne ther gudis and there heretage; bot there lyuis sal

be saif, sa that the vil be suorne to be inglis slavis, and renegat scottis. bot he vil nocht grant na grace to thy

faculte, bot the samyn grace that kyng heary the eycht gaue to the sperutualite of ingland, that is to saye, in the fyrst he tuke the patrimone & the temporal landis of

- 8 the kyrkis of ingland, & anext are part of them to the proprite of his croune, & ane vthir part he distribut amang ane certan of grit personagis of his realme, quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion, & syne he chesit furtht1 ane certan of the hiest genologie of ingland that
- 13 hed bene promouit to cathidral<sup>2</sup> digniteis, and til vthir [\*1116 (128), bk] sperut[u]al be neficis, quhome he gart his flaschar lay ther craggis on ane stok and gart heyde them, and syne he gart hyng ther quartars on potentis at diverse comont passagis on the feildis quhar the maist confluens of 18 pepil passit and repassit, and thridly he compellit pure speritual men, baytht regular and religiouse preistis, monkis and freris, to pas to leyrn mecanyc hand laubyrs, sum to be cordinaris, sum to be tailgours, sum to be marynalis, and sa to proceid to diverse vthir craftis; and that that var obstinat and disobedient tvl his

How he treated the religious orders.

> 24 cruel statutis he gart bannes ane part of them, and presone the bodeis of ane vthir part in perpetual captivite.

> > There for (o thou my sycond sone sper[it]ualite) thou

The spirituality of Scotland will obtain no more mercy than those of England.

may beleue surly that the kyng3 of ingland vil be na mair gracius, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he reputis for his mortal eneme, nor he hes bene to the 30 sperutualite of ingland, quha vas his faythtful natyue natural leigis and inhabitaris of his realme, of the quhilk ther vas sum of them that var of his kyn and blude, bot he regardit nocht tyl ony greis of consanguinite, bot rather he vsit his mercyles crualte con-35 trar them, to that effect that his auaricius affectione

1 furthr

that he hed touart 'the kyrk landis of ingland mycht [\*1116 bis (129)] O se sperutualite of scotland, se hef grit 2 cause to tak exempil be your nychtbours, and nocht be your selfis, conformand to thir tua versis; felix quem The wise take faciunt aliena pericula cautum. casus de-dangers of others. mentis correctio fit sapientis. Al this veil considrit!, suld be an animaduertens to gar 30u be vigilant 7 and delegent to keip and to deffend the liberte of 3our faculte, the quhilk sal neuyr be veil kepit nor deffendit, bot gyf 3e put 3our handis to verk, that is to saye, that Such of the sa mony of 3ou that ar defensabil men sal pas in propir bodied, ought to person in battel vitht my lord gouvernour and vitht in war. the nobil lordis and barrons of scotland contrar the cruel invasions of your ald enemeis of ingland. There 14 for sen it is neid forse to cheis ane of tua euyllis, that is to say, othir to fecht in battel for the deffens of your faculte and liberte, or ellis to be tormentit in captiuite be 30ur ald enemeis, 3e suld cheis the smallest of thir It is the less of tua euillis, conformand to the vordis of cicero that he vrit ad quintum fratrem, sayand, in duobis malis 20 fugiendum maias, leuius est elegendum. for it is les domage and dishonour to fecht in fayr battel for the deffens of your liberte, 'nor to be tormentit in ane [ \* leaf 116 &c miserabil captiuite. Quhar for i exort 30u that 3e Let them change your sperutual habitis, bayth coulis and syde cowis and long gounis, in steil iakkis and in cotis of mailze, to deffend jacks and coats 30ur bodeis fra the crualte of 30ur enemeis; and thai of mail. that ar agit and nocht abil for the veyr, thai heffand patrimone and beneficis, thai suld furneis pure preistis, 29 monkis and freris, vitht al necessair thingis conuenient for the veyris. And than guhen the veyris ar endit, thai maye cleitht them agane vitht there spirutual habit, conformand to ther professione. And nane of the sperutualite suld be scripulus in this byssynes, considerand that goddis lau, the lau of natur, positive lau. 35

varning from the

serve personally

(129), back robes for steel

All estates are bound by every law, human and divine, to fight for their country. Why should priests urge exemption?

The Bible shows how David, [\* leaf 117 (130)] Moses, Aaron, and the prophets were always first in buttle.

The canon law says,

it is still allowed to them to fight, not for the sake of shedding blood, but for the public weal;

niso against Saracens.

Englishmen more Saracens than Christians.

Wars undertaken against the excommunicated and infidels are [° 1f 117 (130), bk] meritorious. The English are excommunicated for

l ciuil and cannon lau, hes condiscendit in ane purpos that al staitis and faculteis, vitht out ony acceptione of persons, ar oblist to pas in battel for the deffens of ther public veil, and of ther native cuntre. Than quhy suld preistis or freris allege exemptions, sayand that there professione oblicis them to sing and say, to preche and 7 praye, and nocht to fecht in battel, allace sic exemptions suld be repellit and adnullit, considerand that the contrarie of ther allegiance is of verite. The bibil is ane real 'probatione, that kyng dauid that royal prophete vas ane preist, moises vas ane preist, aaron vas ane preist, ande al the prophetis of Israel var preistis; zit nochtheles thay var ay fyrst in the battel 14 for the deffens of the landis of promissione, and nou be cause that there is sum ignorant preistis that ar mair obedient to the canon lau nor thai ar to goddis lau, there for i vil sateisfe? there scrupulus consciens vitht sum cheptours of the canon lau. in the fyrst, it is vrityn in the xxiij distinctione in the feyrd questione 20 in the cheptour Si non, as eftir follouis, sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit bellare: sic & modernis, dummodo non bellent desiderio fundenti sanguinem: sed rem publicam ampliando. it is vrityn in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione as eftir follouis. Saraceni bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis impug-27 nantur. i reffer the expositione of this text to the vniuersal cristianite to juge quhiddir that inglismen be sarrasyns or cristin men. Ther is ane cheptour of the canon lau that sais thir vordis in the xxiii distinctione in the fyifte question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles meritoria sunt. i reffer the expositione of this text to be jugit be al cristin princis, quhiddir that inglis men be excommunicat and denuncit goddis rebellis be al lauis for ther infidilite,

incrudilite, crualte, tirranrye, sacreleige, & for the bereey, infidelity, vsurpatione of vthir princis dominions witht out ony occasione or iust titil. There is sum scripulus preistis, Some scrupulous hefand there consciens subject to traditions, quha sais, that it is nocht leiful to preistis to pas in battel, witht without the out the lecens of the pape. i vald thir ignorant preistis vald reid ane cheptour of the canon lau in the xxiii 7 distinctione in the viii questione, callit, an episcopo liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape. i exort zou, my sone spersit ualite, to put al cerimonial This is no time scrupulnes furtht of your hartis, & that 3e pas in propir scruples. person contrar your ald enemeis; & than doutles your faculte sal nocht be spulzeit1 fra the liberte that it possessis.

sacrilege, &c., &c.

whether they may go to battle Pope's license.

14

## Muhou the affligit lady dame scotia makis ane exortatione til hyr thre sonis, quhilk is the conclusione of this beuk.

### CHAP. XX.

3e my thre sonnis, i hef accusit euyrye ane of 3ou, 18 perticularly 2 in special for the abusione of 3our faculteis and officis, the quhilk abusio ne is the [\*loaf 125 (131)] cause of the contentione and discord that ringis amang Intestine strife 30u, the quhilk contention and discord hes dune mair section domage in 3our cuntre, nor the grit armye of ingland arms of England hes dune. I vald speir ane question, quhat medycyn can help ane seik man that hurtis hym selue vilfully, 25 and prouokis his auen seiknes daly? or quhat cite can indure, quhen it is seigit and assailseit vitht out be enemeis, and vitht in the cite ringis mortal veyr amang the gouvernours and inhabitantis? O ze my thre sonis, quhat can the varld estime of 30u, quhen 3e ar sa solist 30

has injured

1 on the runyne of your prosperite, and on the demolitione of your comont veil? your conditions & conversations is mair lyik til barbarien pepil, nor it is to Ye are more like berbarians than cristyn pepil. 3e lament hauyly the cruel veyrs, and 3e Christians. cry & desyris pace at god, 3e heffand rancor in 3our 6 hartis contrar your nychtbours. 3e desire mercy at god, 3e heffand ane drauen sourd in 3our hand to slay ane innocent. 3e vald be louit witht al men, and 3e hef na cherite to na man. Quhy suld god delyuyr 30u fra 3our enemeis? sen that 3e ar mortal enemeis to 3our 11 selfis, your honour is tynt; sen that your vailgeantnes [\*16 126 (181), bk] is changit in berkyng on vthirs lyik cattis and 'doggis, ze hef left the protectione of zour comont salut, and ze ar be cum sodiours & pensionaris to 3our enemeis, and Ye are become pensioners of alse ze ar be cum enemeis to zour auen veilfair and your enemies. prosperite. allace, vald 3e considir the grit ruuyne & perditione that hes cum on diverse realmis throught the

> 18 discentione and divisione that rang among the pepil. than i beloue that 3e vald treit pace in 3our consciens, and cherite to your nychtbours. the holy scriptour confermis this samyn purpos, quhar crist lesus said, Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: al

> realmis that ar dividit vitht in them selfis be discentione and contentione, sal be left desolat. there for (o 25 3e my thre sonnis) it is na meruel that 3our cuntre cum

to runyne and desolatione, considerand that al sortis of detestabil and onleful veyrs and battellis that distroyit the romanis in the anciant dais, ringis presently amang 30u, throught the discentione, diuisione, inuy, rancor,

30 and auareis that ringis vniuersaly throught al scotland. the fyrst sort of battellis and veyris that broucht the romans to runyne, vas callit battellis finityuis, A fini-Frontier Wars.

bus: that is, quhen ane man vndir takkis to conques be violence and tirranye the landis of his nychtbours that marchis and lyis contigue vitht his landis, as did

36 Ninus kyng of the assiriens, quha vas nocht contentit

Math. 12. Lucc. 11.

The wars that ruined Rome.

Instin. Lib. 1.

[\* leaf 127 (132)]

vitht his auen cuntre, there for he maid vevr on al the 1 cuntreis that circuit his realme. this sammyn sort of veyrs is in scotland, for there is nocht mony men, grit nor smal, that hes heretage, bot is aye inventand cavillatione & vrang titilis to hef ther nychtbours heretagis that lyis contigue besyde them, othir be proces & 6 pleyis, or ellis be violens. there vas ane vthir sort of battellis amang the romans, callit battellis socialis, that social wars. is, quhen tounis of ane cuntre makkis veyr contrar vthirs, as of diverse tounis of germanve and vtalie. Thir samyn sort of veyrs ringis presently in scotland, for there is nocht ane boroustone nor landuard paris vitht in the realme, bot thai hef inuy contrar the tounis 13 and parisis that ar nixt nychtbours to them. the thrid sort of veyris var callit battellis ciuilis, that is, civil wars. quhen citinaris and induellaris of ane cite hes mortal fede contrar vthirs, as vas betuix silla & marius & quintue lipidius. this samyn sortis of veyris ringis 18 instantly in scotland, for there is nocht ane borroustoune nor parise in scotland bot the're is deidly fede [\*1/127 (132), bk] amang sum of the induellars of the saidis tounis. there is ane vthir sort of veyris callit battellis intestynis, that Intestine Wars. is, quhen kynsmen and frendis of consanguinite or affinite hes mortal veyr contrar vthirs, as vas betuix 24 Iulius cesar and his gude sone grit pompeus. this samyn sort of veyris ringis instantly in scotland; for the intestine veyris that ringis amang the barrons and gentil men of scotland, is detestabil to be rehersit, for thai that ar nerest of kyn and blude hes maist mortal fede contrar vthirs; quha can calkil the degreis of kyn and 30 blude of the barrons of scotland, thai vil conferme this samyn. there is ane vthir sort of veyris callit battellis Servile Wars. asephales, that is, quhen the pepil gadris togiddir in ane grit conventione but the autorite of the superior, as did the comontis of germanye, quhilkis var the numer of ane hundyr thousand men. thai did grit domage. 36

in Scotland.

1 that obeit nocht to their dukis and superioris, than the duc of saxon and the langraue of hasse venqueist and distroyit them, siclyik as did the comontis of ingland the zeir of 1533 zeris, quhilkis var distroyit vndir the 5 trettye of concord. this samyn sort of veyris ringis instant'ly in scotland; for i hef sene nyne or ten thou-[\* leaf 128 (188)] The same prevail sand gadyr to giddir vitht out ony commissione of the kyngis letteris, the quhilk grit conventione hes been to put there nychtbours furtht of ther steding and takkis on vytson veddyinsday, or ellis to leyd auaye ane pure manis teynd in heruyst; bot thai vald nocht be half 12 sa solist to convene thre hundretht at the command of the kyngis letteris to pas to resist our ald enemeis of ingland. al thir forsaid veyrs hes occurrit throught the discentione and divisione of the pepil of ane

Ye know that these words are

16 realme.

befor rehersit ar of verite. alse 3e knau1 that 3our extreme ruuyne approchis verra neir, the quhilk maye be eysylie remedit, sa that 3e vald nocht be obstinat and 21 obdurit in the rancor and discentione that ringis amang zou, it aperis to me, that sum so[r]seris and vytchis, quhilkis ar instramentis of the ald eneme of mankynd, hes tempit 30u, and hes venqueist 30ur natural rason. i vait nocht quhiddir that i sal iuge 30u to be cum frenetic or brutal, for your conversations in general is 27 ane monstreus thyng rather nor humain, as your verkis testifeis. the historiographoris rehersis that the tua (\*18128 (133), bk) prudent \*philosophoris, heraclites and democrites, past throught the varld to have ane vniuersal iugement of the conversation of man kynd. than quhan thai var passand throught the varld, & persauand the vice and the vanite, and euil conversatione of euyrie cuntre, & alse persauand the grit solistnes of diverse staitis in 35 conquessing reches, heretagis, digniteis, officies, and

¶ O 3e my thre sonnis, 3e knau that thir vordis

How Hernclitus and Democritus passed through the world to survey mankind. autorites, sum be auareis, sum be violens and extor- 1 sions, and sum be ane inexorbitant solistnes contrar rason, and sum be raif and spulze, and sum be trason, and sum be discentione & mortal fede, nocht heffand respect nor rememorance of the schort peregrinatione of this miserabil lyif, nor git heffand premeditatione of the 6 future eternal beatitude that god hes promest til faythtful men. than heraclites began to veip and lament for The weeping and pite that he hed of the extreme disrasonabil abusione that rang amang the vniuersal pepil. bot democrites leucht and scornit there foliful conversatione and solist vanite. allace var thai tua philosophours instantly pas- the laughing sand throught the realme of scotland, heraclites vald murn & lament for pite our misire and our affliction, 14 the quhilk hes occurrit and daly occurris through 'our [\* leaf 129 (134)] auen occasione. and syklyik democrites, persauand our would both find folyful mysgouernance and our miserabil obstinat conuersatione, he vald laucht and scorn vs be grit derisione. for doutles thir tua philosophours vald fynd mater 19 aneucht to veip for vs, and alse to laucht vs to scorn. i vil rehers sex versis in latyn, quhilk var conposit be ane knycht of Itale, M. Antonio philiremo1 fregoso, and syne i sal rehers the exposition of them in our scottis2 tong, as neir the sentens of the text as i can. 24

Ad lectorem.

Defie hominum vitam plusquam<sup>3</sup> heraclite solebas, In lachrimas totos, solue, age nunc oculos: Concute maiori splenem democrite risu, Et toto resonans ore cachinus hiet.

Vita fuit mundi post condita secula nuncquam, Et risu, pariter dignior, & lachrymis.

To the reader.

Gude readar, veip and murne this mortal lyif, As did the vyise philosophour herselite;

1 phiremo

<sup>2</sup> scettis

<sup>3</sup> pinsquam

Verses composed on this subject by

Philiremo Fregueo.

31

The same in Scotch.

1 And thou sal laucht for scorne recreatyfe, As fast as did the prudent democrite. Ane murnit for pite, the tothir leucht in dispite, Quhen thai beheld this varidis vanite: Bot var thai nou on lyue, i mycht veil dyit That the vald laucht and veip our misire.

[\* If 139 (184), bk]

### Seneca.

### ¶ Aut ridenda omnia, aut flenda sunt.

THYR exemplis of thir tua philosophours makkis manifest, that all our varidly byssynes is bot vane & detestabil. there for, it is na meruel thocht heraclites regrettit and vepit our folyful conversatione, and that democrites leucht and scornit our solist abusione, 14 considerand that quhen baytht thir philosophours past throught the varld, the culd persaue nay thing bot vanite. the prudent Salomon confermis this sammyn in the sycond cheptor of his ecclesiastes, sayand, that quhen he hed socht and gottyn al the varldly feliciteis that culd be deuisit, al vas bot vanite and afflictione of Therfor, o ze my thre sonnis, nobilis, the spreit. 21 clerge, and lauberaris, i exort 3ou to retere fra vanite, & til adhere to vertu, & ony of 3ou that thynkis 3ou of maist reputation throught your superfle veltht,1 3e suld Know yourselves, be solist to ken 3our selfis, & to be humil to 3our nychtbours, or ellis al zour gloire, veltht, and dignite, [\* loaf 130 (135)] sal \*change in vilite. 3e haue grit occasione to fle thir 27 varidly caduc honouris, the quhilkis can nocht be possest vitht out vice, and alse as vincentius says in his 34 beuk, the mair elevat that are person be in superfleu digniteis, his fal & ruuyn sal be the hauyar. quanto gradus altior, tanto casus grauior. for the gritest green tre that standis hiest on the montane, is haistyar blauen doune vitht the vynd, nor is the smallest treis 34 that grouis in the valeyse, summa petit liuor: per-

Solomon confirms the same conclusion.

Eccle. 2.

Retire from vanity.

The greater the pride the greater the full.

fluant altissima venti, i haue rehersit thir vordis, 1 be cause of the vane arrogance that ringis in the hartis This specially of my tua eldest sonnis, nobillis and clergie, quhilk vil and clergy. be occasione of there ruuyne, bot gif thai mittygat and mortife there detestabil pride, inuy, and auereis. i meruel that thai considir nocht that god behaldis al 6 there abhomination.1 it aperis that thai beleue that god sleipis and seis them nocht, for there conversation is as ther var nocht ane detht to sla ther bodeis, nor ane hel to puneis ther saulis. Iam viuunt homines tanquam mors nulla sequatur, Et velud infernus fabula ficta foret. God seis al thing, & there is 12 nay thing obscure? fra hym, as is vrityn in Mathou, Marc, and Luc. Nihil enim est tectum quod 'non sit retegendum & nihil occultum, quum 1º1(120(125), bk/ futurum sit vt sciatur. there for it is grit folye to my thre sonnis to couuer there vice vitht dissymilit vertu, for ther is na thing that is hid or sylit, bot the 18 tyme sal mak it manifest. for euerye thing is subjeckit to the proces of the tyme, and the tyme consumis al thing, as it consumis the quhyt fleureis of green treis, except the verite and vertu, quhilk sal neuyr consume, bot rather augmentis in euerye tyme. It was sperit at What Thales said the philosophour tales, gyf that the goddis kneu the ledge of God. verkis that men dois in this varld? he ansuert, quod 25 he, the goddis knauis nocht alanerly the verkis of men, bot as veil thai ken the thochtis and intentions of men. Thir exemplis suld be applyit to the pepil that ar dissymilit in ther conversations, and that cullurs and couners ther false hartis witht verkis aperand to be ver- 30 teous & faythtful. bot there is na dissymilation, O 3e my thre sounis, amang 30u, considerand that 30ur hartis & your verkis condiscendis on ane purpos, bot rather til euil nor to gude. O my thre sonnis, sen god kennis that your hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that your 35

2 energe

who can deliver you from the thrue plagues.

Turn your hearts verkis ar euyl, i exort 3ou that 1 3e gar 3our hartis con-

[\*leaf 181 (186)] saue the comandis of god, and that your verkis be con-3 formand to the sammyn; & than doutles god sal schau

his mercy, and sal releue you of the grit afflictione of the thre plagis that hes almaist succumbit 3our cuntre in extreme runyne, that is to saye, fra veyr, fra pest, and fra hungir. and sic gude pollice sal neuyr cum til effect quhil that ze haue treittit pace and concord amang

9 your selfis, the quhilk concord among your selfis vil be ane mair auful scurge til ingland, nor that the realme of France and the empire hed tane querrel contra[r]

ingland. your cronik[lis] makkis manifest that the inglis men van neuyr na thing at 3our handis, bot

14 rather lossit, quhen thai intendit veyr contrar 30u, 3e beand of ane accord. there is ane exempil of cirillus, Cirilius and the bundle of twige.

qukilk vas ane nobil prince. in his grit aige he be cam seik to the detht. he hed iiij scoir of sonnis, the quhilkis he gart compeir in his presens. than he delyurit to them ane certan of smal green treis bundyn to

20 giddir, extendand to the numer of iiij scoir. fyrst he ordand his eldest soune to brak that bunche of treis at ane tyme, the quhilk he culd nocht. than he gart al the

remanent of his sonnis, ilk ane be them self, tak the [\*1(131 (136), bk] said bunche of green treis and to brak them al to

> giddir, the quhilk nane of them culd do it. than he 26 lousit the bunche of green treis, and gaue til euerye<sup>2</sup> ane of his sonnis ane of the said green treis to brak, the quhilk thai did eysylye. than he said til his iiij scoir

> of sonnis, i exort 3ou that 3e remane al to giddir in gude accord amang your selfis but divisione, and than your 31 enemeis sal nocht venqueis zou. & in opposit, gyf that

contentione and divisione cummis amang 30u, 30ur enemeis sal venqueis 30u as eysylye as ony of 30u hes brokyn ane of the green treis. syklyik, O ze my thre

35 sonnis, gif that 3e remane to giddir, & beis nocht

1 chat

separat nor deuidit fra vthirs, it sal be as onpossibil to 1 inglis men to venqueis 30u, as it vas onpossibil til ane of the sonnis of cirillus to brac the hail bunche of green treis at ane tyme. 3e suld al tak exempil quhou that What discord did grit Alexander conqueist mekil of al the varld, and he left the gouvernyng of his cuntre on his dede bed to be Great, gouernit eftir his deceis be four of the prencipal barrons of his court; bot sune eftir his decese, auareis, inuy, 8 ambitione, and particular proffet, separat and deuidit them fra vthirs, quhilk vas occasione that the barbariens, the persiens and mediens, and the grecians, con queist al the grit empire of Alexander, and maid [\* leaf 132 (137)] sklauis of his pepil. syklyik the romans, that var dominatours of al the varld, fra tyme that discentione and 14 divisione raise amang the prencipal romans, and speciale the discentione that raise betuix Iulius cesar and grit pompeus; for Iulius vald nocht hef ane marrou in as well as armong rome, and pompeus vald nocht hef ane superior; the quhilk discentione vas occasione of the civil and intestine veyrs that rang vniuersale in ytalie. & for that 20 cause the romans that hed dominion athort al the varld be cam subject to them quhom that hed dantit of befor. siclyik the triumphand cite of cartage, quhilk dantit al affrica, spangge & cecil, and did mony vailgeant actis contrar the romans, it be cam subject to them that it 25 hed venqueist of befor, fra tyme that discentione and divisione raise amang the nobillis of that toune.

¶ Quhar for i exort 30u, my thre sonnis, that 3e expel discentione, discord, and ald fede that ringis amang 30u, quhil the veyris be dune, and than 3e sal 30 triumphe contrar zour enemeis. i vald ze tuke exempil of diverse nobil romans and grecians that hed mortal fe'de contrar vthiris, şit nochtheles quhen there enemeis [\*15128 (127), bk] assailzet there native cuntre, than al thir nobillis concurrit in ane accord, and set there particular rancor and fede on syde, as did the tua vailgeant consulis of rome; 36

How the Romans laid aside internal strife to unite against the common enemy.

anc vas callit marcus emilius lepedus, the tothir fuluius flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar vthirs. At that instant tyme Annybal conqueist cannes, at the dolorus battel quhar that the consul 5 emelius Paulus vas slane, quhar that Annibal gat, at the spul3e of the romans, thre muis ful of gold ringis that var on the fingaris of the romans that var slane. Than eftir this dolorus discumfiture of the romans, diuerse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them til

10 Annibal, sum be forse, and sum be trason; and in speciale the toune of capes vas randrit be trason, be the prencipal citinaris of the toune. Than thir tua nobil consulis, Marcus emilius lepedus & fuluius flaccus, quhilkis hed mortal fede betuix them for particular

Marcus Emilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus,

occasions, and that persauand al there native cuntre in
16 dangeir of ruuyne, that said til vthirs, It is necessair
that ve forget and put on syde the lange dedly fede
[\* leaf 132 (138)] that hes bean betuix vs for our particular veil; for
gyf Annibal conqueis al Italie, our particular veil sal
nocht be saue. of this sort thir tua nobil consulis past

21 in ane accord vitht xxxiij legions of men of veyr, and conqueist vailgeantly the toune of capes, & sleu al the chartagien sodiours that annibal hed left in garnison vitht in the toune of capes, and also the gart justific to the detht xxv of the prencipal citinaris, be cause of

26 there trasonabil seditione committit contrar ther comont veil. There is ane vthir exempil of the grit hatrent & mortal fede that vas betuix tua nobil consulis of rome. ane vas callit Claudius nero, the tothir vas callit liuius salinator. the senat send claudius contrar Annibal,

Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator.

31 vitht ane grit armye. at that instant tyme, the post cam to the senat, declarand, that hasdrubal, quha vas the bruther of Annibal, vas cum fra affrica, and past throcht spangge and France, and cumand our the alpes 35 of ytalie vitht ane grit armye to succur his brothir

1 salsinator

Annibal, in hope to distroye al ytalie. for that cause 1 the senat send liuius salinator 1 contrar hasdribal, quha hed nocht ane sufficient nummer of men of veyr to resist hym. quhar for the consul Claudius nero heffand dreddor that liuius salinator and his armye suld be [ 11 128 (128), bk] deffait be hasdrybal, he forget the ald fede that vas betuix them, and he send ane roman captan, callit emilius 7 hostilius, vytht the half of his armye contrar Annibal, quha sleu xxx thousand of Annibal men of veyr, and claudius nero past witht the tothir half of his armye to help and to reskeu liuius contrar hasdribal. than thir tua armes past to githir in gude accord, nocht rememorant of there deidly ald fede that vas betuix them, and 13 thai vailzeantly sleu hasdribal and xlvi thousand of his men, and alse thai tuke viij thousand presoners, and thai cuttit the hede fra hasdribal. & in there returnyng to rome, thai keist the heyde befor them on the gait, & playt vitht it vitht there feit, as it hed been ane fut bal. fra that tyme furtht, Annibal tynt curage in sic 19 ane sort, that his men of veyr var daly deffait. is ane vthir exempil of the dedly fede and hatrent that vas betuix Munitius, maister of the hors men, and the Munitius and consul fabius. thir tua romans hed the gouernyng of ane grit armye of romans contrar Annibal. Munitius the maister of the hors men vas verra proud in hym 25 self, and alse in his veyrs he vas mair furius nor prudent, bot his collig fa bius vas cald, graif, and pacient [\* leaf 134 (139)] . in his bissynes. Munitius, in his furour, vald haue oft gyffin battel til Annibal, bot fabius vald neuyr consent, be cause he sau the aperand danger that vas to succed throught the subtilite of Annibal. than Munitius desirit 31 at fabius that he vald thole hym to haue the hail gouuernyng of the armye ane daye, and fabius to hef it ane vthir daye, and sa euerye ane of them to haue the gouvernyng of the armye his day about, to the quhilk 35

1 salsinator

1 fabius vald nocht consent, sayand, i vil nocht thole zou til haspard al the grit armie of rome in dangeir throught gour ignorant furius conseit, bot i am content that the grit armye be pertit in tua pertis, and 3e to haif the half of the armye, and i sal haue the tothir half is 6 governyng, then 30 maye haspard and fecht quhen that se think sour comodius tyme. Munitee vas verra glaid of this ansuer, on this accord that pertit and dividit there legions and campis in tua equal partia, this debait and discention was reportit til Annibal be his spyis and 11 his exploratours, quhilk vas til hym doubil ioye. ane cause of his loye was, be cause he thouht to venqueis ["M 154 (159), bk] the furius 'fule hardynes of munitius, cuyn as he vald hym self. the tothir cause of his ioye vas, be raison that the half of the stryntht of fabius vas dymynischid, be cause of the parting of the tua hostis in tua partis. 17 ther was ane hil betuix Anniballis hoste and the hoste of munitius, quhilk hil, quha euyr hed gottyn it, he suld have been able to do makil displeseir til his enemeis. bot zit Annibal desyrit it to mak occasione of battel to munitius, quhome, he kneu veil, that throught 22 his furor and fule hardines, vald gane stand and stop hym fra the takkyng of the said hil. than Annibal persauit the spyit at the fut of the said hil, quhair there vas diuerse cauis and cauernis, and grit holis vitht in the rocche craggis, vitht in the quhilk he pat fiue 27 thousand fut men and horse men, nocht persauit be the romans, on the morne, Annibal send ane feu nummir<sup>2</sup> of men to tak the forsaid hil. Munitius persauand that ane feu nummer of chartagiens var in purpos to tak that hil, than the romans brak there arraye to ryn 32 to imposche the takyng of the said hil. for fyrst Munitius send lycht harnessied 30ng men, and syne he send ane grit numir of horse men contrar Anniballis men. &

1 munitus

1º leaf 135 (140)] 'Annibal send syklyik fut men & horse men to reskeu

2 munsir

his men that he hed send to the hil. than Munitius, in 1 grit furor, cam vitht the remanent of his armye contrar the hil takkaris. than Annibal seand occasion and tyme oportune to gyf battel, he past forduart vitht his armye contrar the romans. on the tothir syde, al the five thousand men that var hid in the cauis and holis 6 of the hil, ischit furtht on the bakkis of the romans, vitht mony hiddeous cryis. the romans beand in this grit perplexite, beand closit betuix tua armeis, thai be cam discuragit, quhilk gart them fle fra the battel, bot Anniballis armye follouit, and sleu mony romans. At 11 this instant tyme, fabius, the collig of Munitius, persauand the grit discumfytur of the romans throught the misgouvernance and furor of Munitius,1 he said, fortoune hes schauen hir folie na soner nor i beleuit. Munitius, throcht his fule hardines, hes lossit the half of the gryt 16 armye of rome; he hes euyr been my mortal enemie, and nou i haue tyme oportune to reuenge me on hym; bot at this tyme i vil nocht thole the comont veil to perreise for my vendicatyue particular affectione. there for i vil conteneu our quer'rel and ald fede til ane moir [\*16155 (140), bk] oportunite. than fabius causit his men to display ther 22 baners and standardis, and syne cam forduart in gude arraye contrar Annibal, to succur & reskeu munitius and his men that var fled. than the romans that var fast fleand, persauand fabius armye cummand to help them, thai returnit fra there fleyng, and cam and iunit 27 vitht the armye of fabius in Arraye, & rycht vail@eantly thai venqueist and sleu the maist part of Anniballis men, and chaissit hym self to tuscan.

O my thre sonnis, nobilis, clergie, and lauberaris, Take example by thir exemplis of thir nobil romans that hed mortal fede Romans. betuix them, quhilkis concurrit to giddir in accord for defens of there natyue cuntre, suld prouoke 30u to for-3et the hatrent and rancour that mony of 3ou hes con- 35

1 munituis

COMPLAYNT

12

1 trar vthirs, and to gar you tak curage til accord vitht ane consent to resist your ald enemeis of ingland, for doutles se heffand as mekil gold as cresus or medas possest, and beend in as grit numir of men as exerxes of perse, quhen he cam to conqueis greice, vitht sex

6 hundretht thousand men of veyr, and 2e heffand as gude captans as grit alexander or Indas Machabens.

(\* leaf 186 (141)) and 3e heffand al the munitions for 'veyr that is in europa, al thir thingis be for reherait sal be confusione to 30u, rather nor supple, as lang as 3e haue hatrent and secret fede amang your seluis. quhar for i exort you 12 to concur to giddir in vnite for the deffens of your cuntre, as did thir romans befoir rehersit. and in opposit, gyf your particular fede contrar vthirs remanis in your hartis, than doutles tuenty thousand of your enemeis sal venqueis ane hundretht thousand of 30u, &

17 that sal put your generations and ther posterite furtht of rememorance, and gour mortal enemeis sal inhabit and ocupe your placis.

Of the treason practised in Scotland.

¶ O my thre sonnis, i hef oft tymis rehersit of befor, of the trason that occurris in scotland. and quhou 22 beit that ther be mony trasonabil actis manifest in scotland, zit nochtheles i can nocht condiscend in special on na man that hes committit ony trason, and alse i vait for certan that there is mony nobil men in scotland that ar suspekkit of trason, and ar sklandrit 27 for the samyn be the vulgar pepil, quhou beit that thai be innocent of that foule cryme. the occasione of the samyn suspitione has procedit of the subtilite of your ald enemeis, for ane dispyt that the haue ymaginet [\*1f186 (141), bk] contrar \*30u, be cause that thai dreid 30ur vailgeantnes, and for that cause thai have gart are secret brute pas in scotland that sum of 30u hes intelligens witht them; and to gar ther inventit subtil cauteil contrar 30u entir 35 mair large in the vulgaris hartis, thai have gart ther

1 apdosit

borderaris mak incursions and forrais far vitht in scot- The incursions land, quhar thai haue spulzeit and reft grit multiplie of freebooters. mouiabil gudis, as scheip, nolt and horse, and thai haue dune na domage nor hayrschipis to sum of your stedingis and takkis, the quhilk thing that have dune to that effect that ze maye be haldin odius and suspetius 6 be your prince, throught the quhilk suspitione your prince maye gar preson your bodeis; than 3e beand in varde or in preson, 3e can nothir resist nor deffend 3our cuntre fra the onmerciful invasions of 3our ald Quhair for it is necessair for your veilfayr 11 that 3e1 commit sum vailgeant act contrar 3our enemeis, to that effect that the prince and superioris, and alse the comont pepil of the realme, maye knau 3our innocens.

Ther is ane exempil conformand to this samyn purpos in the feyrd cheptor of the sycond beuk of 16 tucidides, quhou that pericles of athe nes, knauand [ • leaf 137 (145) that the armye of the lacedemoniens was to cum contrar of Pericles, athenes, and that archidamas vas captan to the said armye, quha at vthir tymis of befor the begyning of the veyr vas verra familiar witht perecles: than perecles 21 heffand suspitione that archedamas vald do na domage til his villagis and stevdingis, to that effect that the atheniens suld suspect hym of trason, he past to the senat of athenes, sayand, i suspect that the lacedemonyens vil reserue my villagis and steydingis fra 26 birnyng and fra domage, and that thai vil be cruel contrar my nychtbours,2 to that effect that 3e maye suspect that i haue intelligens witht archedamas, throught the ald familiarite that vas betuix vs: therfor to purge me of sic suspetione, heir i renunce ouer my takkis and 31 stevdingis, and resingis them to be in proprite to the comont veil of athenes, and alse i sal be the fyrst person that sal entir in plane battel contrar the lacedemoniens, to that effect that the pepil maye knau my innocens. 35

1 there is ane vthir exempil of Annibal, that wrocht ane grit subtilite to cause the romans to have ane euil conprim (148), w) sait contrar the nobil fabius. 'Annibal send are grit nummer of lycht1 horse men to spulze the territoris and villagis pertenand to rome, resaruand the villagis 6 and stedingis pertenand to fabius, guha vas captan of the romans armye. this crafty subtel act of Annibal causit the romans to consaue ane vehement suspetione of trason contrar fabius. Than fabius beand aduerteist of this byssynes, and desyrand til haue his innocens

- 11 knaues, he send his sone to rome to sel al his villagesand stedingis for reddy monye, and also writ ane lettir. to the senat of rome of this effect. fathers conscript, i am suspekkit of trason throcht the machinations of Annibal, bot doutles my innocens sal be haistyly mani-
- 16 fest to you al, for as some as i see oportunite and comuenient tyme & place, i sal gif hym battel. on the feyrd daye there eftir, fabius gef battel til Annibal, quhen he reskeuit Munitius the master of the horse: men, as is befor rehersit, this vailgeant act pat hym:
- 21 nocht alanerly furtht of suspetione, bot as veil it augmentit his honour and gloir. (O 3e my thre sonnis) ony of you that is suspekkit of trason suld do sum [ leaf 188 (145)] vailgeant act contrar gour enemeis as did pere cles and

fabius befor rehersit, to that effect that the remanent of 26 the pepil maye gyf confidens to 3ou, quhilk vil be occasione that the hail body of the realme vil haszard there lyuis and there gudis in 3our companye for the iust defens of zour comont veil and zour natyue cuntre. Allace the suspetione that the pepil hes contrar sum of 30u is nocht causles, for men of smal experiens maye persaue that ther is diverse men of scotland that ar be

The suspicions against the Scotch nobles not groundless.

1 lychi

cum neutral; that is to say, thai vil nothir tak ane plane part witht ingland nor witht scotland, for quhen 35 thir neutral men speikis vitht inglis men, thai lament

hauyly the inconstance of the lordis of scotland that 1 hes brokyn ther promit & band, the quhilk was honestly contrakkit, to compleit ane mariage betuix our nobil princes heretour of scotland, and eduard the 30ng kyng of their double of ingland, the quhilk contract beand fulfillit, vald hef dealing. beene the cause of ane perpetual vnite betuix the tua 6 said realmis; and quhen thir said neutral men speikis vitht scottis men, thai regret and lamentis hauvive the discentione and divisione that ringis amang the nobilis of scotland, quhilk is occasione that the 'inglis men be [\*1f 188 (148), bk] ther falsed and subtilite persecutis our realme vitht out 11 ony just titil. Of this sort the neutral scottis men entretenis baytht the realmis quhil on to the tyme that ane of the realmis conqueis the tothir, and than thai vil adhere til his opinione that conquesis the victore. bot sic dissymilit and subtyl neutral men at the end of 16 the veyrs vil be reuardit as the cordinar of rome vas How a shoemaker reuardit be augustus cesar, as i sal rehers. The beuk rewarded for of the annales of rome rehersis, that in the tyme of the ciuil veyris that vas betuix Augustus Cesar and Anthonius, quhilkis tua contendit for the empire. the 21 iugement of the victore that vas aperand to be betuix them, vas verray incertan to the vniuersal pepil of ytalie, be rason that thai var profond hie spretit vailzeant men, and verray opulent in reches, & of grit allya, quhilk vas occasione that the romans var deuidit 26 in tua aduerse parteis. at that tyme ther vas ane cordinar of rome, ane verray subtil riche villane, quha be cam neutral induring the tyme of the veyris betuix Augustus and Anthonius, tariand quhil on to the tyme that ane of them var superior of the tothir, 3it he [ \* look 130 (144)] nocht beand certan quha suld be superior of rome, and 32 alse beand desirus to have the grace and fauouris of hym that hapnit to be imperiour, he be grit1 subtilite neurissit tua 30ng corbeis in tua cagis, in tua syndry He reared two

double dealing.

young ravens.

I housis, and he leyrnit them baytht to speik. he leyrnit ane of them to saye, god same thy grace, nobil victoreus augustus cesar. and he leyrnit the tothir to save, god saue thy grace, nobil victoreus empriour anthonius. than this subtel cordinar set ane of his corbeis that gef 6 louyng til angustus, furtht at his vindo on the plane reu, quhen he beheld ony gentil men of augustus allya pas or repas befor his house, and siklyik he set furtht his tothir corbe at his vindo quhen he beheld ony of the allya of Anthonius pas or repas befor his house. 11 the quailk thing he did to that effect that he mychi

vyn the fauoir of augustus, & nocht to tyne the fauoir of anthonius. of this sort he was lyik to the sourd witht the tua edgis. that quhen Augustus cesar venquest anthonius, & vas pacebil empriour, this subtel cordonar presentit the corbe til Augustus, quhilk gef hym louyng

19 18 (144), bk] in hyr artificial speche, of 'the quhilk cesar vas verray 18 glaid, quhar for he gef to the cordonar fyftene hundretht peces of gold. bot sune there eftir it vas reportit to augustus cesar, that the said subtel cordonar hed ane corbe that gaue as grit louyng til anthonius. than augustus causit the said corbe and the cordonar to be 23 brocht in his presens; and quhen he persauit that the cordonar vas ane astuce subtel falou & dissymilit, he gart hang hym on ane potent befor the capitol, & his tua corbeis be syde hym.

> ¶ Of this sort (O 3e my thre sonnis) ony of 3ou 28 that is be cum neutral to scotland and ingland, and is tariand quhil there be ane prince superior to baytht the realmis, doutles 3e sal be recompensit be that prince for your astuce dissymilitnes, as the cordinar vas recompensit be augustus cesar. Ther for i exort 30u to 33 reuoke your neutralite, and that 3e be cum special vailzeant deffendours of zour natyue cuntre. it was sperit at cicero in the tyme of the ciuil veyris betuix Iulius

Of Cicero's souduct in the civil war.

Cesar & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald 1 tak. cicero ansuerit, quem fugiam scio, quem sequar nescio. this is to say, i vait quhais part i sal refuse, bot vait nocht quhais part i sal tak. this \*ansueir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum [\* leaf 60 (145)] neutral in the civil and intestine veyris that vas betuix iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. 3it nochtheles the 7 romans murmerit his ansueir of ambiguite to the yrang part, allegeand that he hed mair fauoir to pompeus querrel nor to Iulius Cesar; bot it is the natur of inciuil comont pepil to iuge euirye purpos to the vrang face. Ane propositione or ane responce of ambiguite suld be ay interpreit and exponit to the best sens, con- 13 formand til ane reul of the lau, de vsu L. creditor, cum ibi no. C. & L. fi vsuras. the quhilkis cheptours sais, Ambigua solutio pro meliori & certiori parte est interpretanda et intelligenda. bot nou to proceid in my purpose. Cicero hed ane 18 honest cause to refuse baytht ther querellis and to be neutral, be rason that thai contendit baytht to be superiours and kyngis of rome, quhilk vas expresse contrar the antiant lauis of the romans. The sophist logicinaris per chance may argou<sup>1</sup>, that tua contrareis 23 can nocht be baytht false; and be this mutulat freuole reul of logic thai vald infer and allegie, that Iulius and pompeus culd nocht baytht hef ane vrangus titil in ther debait, considerand that the comont prouerb \*sais, that in eugrie tua contrar opinions ther is ane [\* if 69 (145), bk] rycht and ane vrang. thir freuole sophistaris that marthirs and sklandirs the text of aristotel, deseruis 30 punitione; for quhou beit that ther be comparison of greis in euyrie thyng, that follouis nocht that the positive gre and the comparative gre ar contrar tyl vthir, for gude and bettir ar defferent in greis, & zit thai ar nocht contrar til vthirs. siklyik euyl and var ar 35

1 argon

I of defferent greis, bot git that ar nocht contrar til vthirs. git nochtheles ther is tua reulis in the lau that sais, Aliquid est iustum cuius contrarium est iustius. L. exigendi. C. de procu. per glo. the tothir reul sais, Aliquid est malum cuius con-6 trarium est deterius. ff. de re in L. quotiens. bot thir tua reulis of the lau makkis no just titil nothir to inlius nor to pompeus, quhou be it that ther querellis var baytht contrar til vthirs, considerand that baytht there querellis tendit to the demolitione of the antient 11 public veil of the romans; ther for ther vas na greis of comparison in there debait; ther for nocht ane of them hed ane just titil in ther contrare querellis, nor git the opinion of Iulius was na var nor the querrel of pompeus, [\* lest 116 (146)] considerand that ther contrains debait var baytht 'of ane enyl equal qualite. Nou to mak ane end of this 17 degressione, i vil conclude that the neutralite of ciero descruis recommendatione, quhes Iulius and pompeus contendit quhilk of them suld be kyngis of rome. it is nocht siclyik betuix ingland and scotland; for quhou be it that forane princis that ar indefferent til 22 ingland and scotland, and also ther subjectis, vil remane neutral in our veyris contrar inglis men, that follouis nocht that scottis men can hef ony just titil to remane neutral quhen our cuntre is inuadit be our dissaitful ald

Let any that have been neutral heretofore choose their side now.

26 enemeis.

Quhar for i exort 30u (o 3e my thre sonnis) that gyf ony of 30u be suspekkit that 3e hef bene neutral in tymis by past, that nou 3e purge 30u vitht sum vail-3cantnes contrar 30ur enemeis, to that effect that 3e and maye reuenge the extreme violent domage that 3e hef sustenit be the oniust veyris of ingland. And quhou be it that 30ur ald enemeis vald decist fra ther oniust veyris, and that thai vald treit pace vitht 30u, 3it nochtheles 3e suld nocht condiscend to sic pace, bot gyf the 36 kyng of ingland vald restoir ande reforme the domage

& violens that 3e haue indurit. And alse doutles the 1 inglis men vil offir 30u no pace, bot ane dissy milit pace [ 1f 116 (146), bk] for ther auen auantage, ande to disaue 30u eftiruart be ane mair cruel veyr. it is knauen throught al cristianite. that inglis men socht neuvr pace at scotland and France 5 at ane instant tyme; bot rather, quhen thai socht pace at scotland, there purpos vas to mak veyr on France; and quhen thai socht pace of France, ther purpos vas to mak veyr on scotland. ther for sic dissimilit pace, fra the quhilk may succeid veyr, suld nocht be resauit, 10. bot rather veyris suld be maid, in hope that sure pace War preferable maye succeid, conformand til ane cheptour in the xxiij peace. distinctione in the fyrst question, quhilk sais, Non pax queritur vt bellum exerceatur, sed bellum geritur vt pax acquiratur. ther for, quhen the 15 legatis of ingland offris to you are dishonest pace, fra the quhilk maye succeid ane mair cruel veyr, 3e suld refuse it, conformand to the vordis of Cicero, in his Philip. 12. inuectyue philipiques contrar<sup>2</sup> anthonius, sayand, pax est repudianda, si sub eius nomine latitet 20 There for, (o 3e my thre sunnis) 3e haue ane iust titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel veyr contrar your enemeis. for as tucidides sais in the thretten Tweidides cheptour of his fyrst beuk, quod he, as it is convenient Libro 1. tyl honest & prudent men to lyue in pace, quhen there [ • leaf 145 (147)] nychtbours dois them na oultraige nor violens: Sik- 26 lyike it is honest and convenient to verteous men to change there pace, and rest in cruel veyr, fra tyme that thai haue resauit oultrage and violens fra there nychtbours. for the changeyng of ane dissymilit pace in ane cruel veyr, sal be occasione of ane ferme and faythtful<sup>3</sup> 31 pace. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpose in the Cice. offi. fyrst beuk of his officis. Suscipienda bella sunt, vt in pace sine iniuria viuatur. Ande quhou be it that there is divers parsons in scotland that sais, that 35

1 sued 2 conthar

3 saythtful

Tusidides Ii. 2. ca. 9.

1 rest and pace var verray necessair for vs, i confesse that honest pace suld preffer oniust veyris, for that cause the empriour traian said, that it var les skaytht to mak ans iust veyr, mer to lyue in dreddour vndir ane dissymilit pace. Eneric man is oblist to deffend the gudis, heretages and possessions that his antecestres and forbearis hes left to them; for as tucidides hes said in his sycond bouk, quod he, it is mair dishonour tyl ane person to tyne the thyng that his antecestres and forbearis hes conquesist be grite bubours, nor it is dishonour 11 quhes he failleds in the conquessing of ane thing that

quhes he failed in the conquesting of ane thing that
[\*W165 (167), bk] he intendit 'tyl haue conquest fra his mortal enemys.

Revery noble man defends his
deffend his isst querrel; for siklyik as ane man offendis

Be this reson, cuyric mobil man suld be verray solist to deffend his isst querrel; for siklyik as ane man offendis his consciens quhen he dois violens, extorsions and domage tyl his nychtbour, siklyik ane honest man offendis & hurtis his consciens, quhen he deffendis hym nocht in his iust querrel contrar his enameis, & alse reuengis hym nocht of the violens and domage that his enemeis hes perpetrat contrar hym. Quhar for i exort 30u my thre sonnis, that 3e condiscend in ane faythful accord: than doutles god sal releue 30u of the grit afflictione that 3e haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & alse i beleue that he sal mak 30u ane instrament til extinct that false generatione furtht of

God will help you when you help yourselves.

1 20n

26 rememorance: & sa fayr veil.

¶ Heir endis the complaynt of scotland.

¶ Nichil est turpius, quam sapientis vitam, ex insipientium sermone pendere. Cice. de fini.

## TABVLA.

[leaf 0 (148)]

# The table of the cheptours that ar contenit in this beuk.

The	fyrst cheptour declaris the cause of the mutations of							
	monar	chis	•••	•••	•••	•••	fo. xv. [	page 19]
The	•	_					god contrai	
The	thrid o	cheptor i	s, quho	the a	ctor reg	retis th	e thretnyng fo. xx.	3
The	feyrd c	heptour	conferri	s the pa	esagis o	f the th	rid cheptoui fo. xxiij.	
The	fyift philos	cheptour ophours	declar	is the	opinion	zs that rminatio	the pagan one of the fo. xxv.	 1
The	sext	cheptor	rehersis	ane r	nonolog	recrea	tyue of the	)
The					_		actor in his	_
The	-		-		•	•	lame Scotia atis of Scot-	
							fo. xxxv.	
The		-	-		_	•	exortis hyr	
	_						fo. xxxix.	

	FINIS.
	be vigilant in the defens of ther natyue cuntre fo. cxxv. [p. 165]
Ch. xx	Quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr thre sounis to
Ch. xix.	Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr sycond soune, callit sperutualite fo. exii. [p. 157]
Ch. zvil.	Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr eldest soune, <sup>2</sup> callit nobilis and gentil men fo. ci. [p. 143]
	Quhou the affligit lady ansuert tyl hyr 30ngest soune fo. xevj. [p. 137]
	ane lamentabil complaynt fo. lxxxv. [p. 122]
Ch. xv.	fo. lxxvii. [p. 113] Quhou the thrid soune, callit lauberaris, ansuert vitht
Ch. xiv.	Quhou conspiratours ar puneist be the hand of god
	betuix scotland and ingland is the cause of seditione fo. lxvii. [p. 106]
Ch. xiii.	fo. lv. [p. 85] Quhou the affligit lady declaris that the familiarite
	The 11 cheptor declaris that the pretendit kyngis of ingland hes no iust titil to the realme of ingland
[lenf 0 (1e	The 10 cheptour declaris quhou the inglis men gyuis vane credens to the prophesic of merlyne fo. xlv. [page 82]

<sup>1</sup> Should be lii. <sup>2</sup> souhe. <sup>3</sup> souuis.

### APPENDIX

OF

## CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

#### COMPRISING:

T.

Henry VIII's Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottis, and his Maiesty's title to the souerayntie of Scotlande.

1542.

II.

James Harryson, a Scottisheman's Exhortacion to the Scottes to conform to the Will of Englande. 1547

III.

The Lord Protector Somerset's Epistle or Exhortacion to Vnitie and Peace sent to the inhabitauntes of Scotlande.

1548.

IV.

Nicholas Bodrugan alias Adams's Epitome of King Edward VI's title to the souereigntie of Scotlande.

1548.



## A DECLA-RATION, CONTEY-

### NYNG THE IVST CAVSES

and consyderations, of this

present warre with the

Scottis, wherin al:

soo appereth the

trewe & right

title, that

the kin:

ges

most royall maiesty hath to the souerayntic of Scotlande.



## THE DECLARATION OF HENRY VIII. 1542.

Define nover enforced to the warre, which we have always hither to so moch abhorred and fied, by our neighbour and Nephieu the Kyng of Scottis, one, who, about all other, for our manifold benefites towardis hym, hath most just cause to love vs. to honor vs., and to rejoise in our quiet: we have thought good to notify vnto the world his doinges and behaviour in the provocation of this warre, and lykewyse the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to exchue and advoyde it, and the just and true occasions, whereby we be nowe provoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and divulging of that matier, to disourden som part of our inwarde displeasure and griefe, and the circumstances knowen, to lament openly with the worlde the infelicitie of this tyme, in which thinges of suche enormitie do brest out and appere.

THE KYNG of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in his youth & tender age preserved and maynteined from the great danger of other, and by our authoritie and power conduced hym savely to the reall possession of his estate, He nowe compelleth and forceth vs for preservation of our honoure and right, to vse our puissance and power agaynst hym. The like vnkindenes hath been heretofore shewed by other in semblable caces against goddis lawe, mans lawe, and al humanitie: but the oftener it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, & yet in the persons of princis for the raritie of theym can so happen but selldome, as it hath nowe come to passe.

It hath ben very rarely and seldom seen before, that a king of Scottis hath had in mariage a doughter of England: We can not, ne wyll not reprehend the kynge our fathers acte therin, but lament and be sory it toke no better effecte. The kynge our father in that matier intended loue, amitie, and perpetuall frendshyp betwene the posteritie of both, whiche how soone it fayled, the death of the kynge of Scottis, as a due punyshment of god for his injuste invasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonye to theyr reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme coulde not the vnkyndenesse of the father extinguishe in vs the natural loue to our Nephieu his sonne being then in the myserable age of tender youthe: but we than forgettyng the dyspleasure that shuld have worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nurrished and brought vp our Nephieu to achieue his fathers possession and gouernment, wherein he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth hym towardes vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst hym.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire spech and flattering woordes, we be in dedes so injured contempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe Wordes, writinges, letters, messages, ambassiatis, excuses, allegations, coulde not 1 more pleasantly, more gently, ne more reverently be devised and sente, then hath bene made on the kynge of Scottis behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted, the tree wold bryng forth good fruite, that was on thone partie of so good a stocke, and contynually in apparance put forth so fayre buddes: and therfore wolde hardely byleue or gyue eare to other, that euer alledged the dedes to the contrary, being neuerthelesse the same dedes so manyfest, as we muste nedes have regarded them, had we not have ben so lothe to thinke euell of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therefore hauvnge a message sente vnto vs the yere paste from our sayde Nephieu, and a promisse made for the repayryng of the sayd kynge of Scottis vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therfore, the same metyng was not onely disappoynted, but also at our being at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an inuasion made by our said Nephieu his subjectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispite of vs: We were yet gladde to impute the defaute of the metynge to thaduyse of his counsaylle, and the inuasion to the lewdnes of his subjectes: and according thervnto gaue as benigne and gentyl audience to suche Ambassadours, as repayred hither at the Christmas afterwarde, as if noo suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderynge the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasant woordis, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadours, not only to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnes and perfect amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottis hauvnge contrary to tharticle of the leage of amitie, receyued and entreteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chief and principle, in sterringe the insurrection in the North agaynst vs, with refusal before tyme, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuerthelesse vpon offer made by the sayde ambassadours, to sende commission to the bordures, to determine the debates of the confinies in the same, with so great a pretence of amitie and so fayre woordes, as coulde be in speche desyred: we were contente for the tyme to forbeare to presse them over extremely in the matier of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desvrous to make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whiche to our great charge we dyd, and the kynge of Scottes our said Nephieu the semblable. Where after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that being for our part chalenged a piece of our grounde,

<sup>1</sup> A iii, <sup>2</sup> A iii, back.

playnly vsurped by the Scottis, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substanciall, more autentique, more playne and euydent, can not be broughte fourthe for any parte of grounde within our realme. The same was neuerthelesse by them denied, refused, and the euidence only for this cause rejected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it coulde not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytell, and of so smal 'wayte, as no man wolde haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matier. And yet this denyall being in this wyse made vnto our Commissioners, they neuer the lesse by our commandement departed as frendes, from the Commissioners of Scotlande, takyng order as hath ben accustomed for good rule vpom the borders in the meane tyme.

AFTER whyche theyr recesse, the lorde Maxwell, warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therwith, that the bourderers of Scotlande shuld withdrawe their goodes from the bourders of England: And incontinentally after the Scottishe men bourdurers, the fourth of July, entred into our realme sodeynly, and spoyled our subjectes, contrary to our leages, euen after suche extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre. whereat we moche meruayled, and were compelled therfore to furnishe our bourdour with a garrison for defence of the same. Whervpon the kyng of Scottis sente vnto vs James Leyrmouth, maister of his howseholde, with letters deuysed in the most pleasant maner, offerynge redresse and reformation of al attemptates. And yet neuerthelesse at the entre of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great numbre of the Scottis, than not loked for, made a forrey into our bourders, to the great annoyance of our subjectes, and to theyr extreme detriment, wherwith and with that vnsemely dissimulation, we were not a lytell moued, as reason wolde we shulde. And yet dyd we not fynally soo extremely persecute and continue 2 our sayde displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayde Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altred by his wordes and fayre promyses, tendyng to the perswasion that we ouer desyred, to fynde the kynge of Scottis suche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloude, with our gratuitie vnto hym, dyd require.

In the meane tyme of these fayre woordes, the dedes of the borders were as extreme as myghte be, and our subjectes spoyled: and in a rode made by syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, the same syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prysoners, and yet deteyned in Scotlande, without puttynge them to fyne and raunsome, as hath ben euer accustomed. And beinge at the same tyme a surceaunce made on bothe sydes at the suite of the sayde Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottis ceassed not to make sundry inuasions into our realme in suche wyse, as we were compelled to forgette fayre wordes, and onely to consyder the kyng of Scottis dedes,

whiche appered vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our duetie in defence of our subjectes, ne could not in respecte of our honour, be passed ouer vnreformed; and therfore put in a redynesse our army, as a due meane wherby we myght atteigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subjectes we be bounde to procure.

AFTER whiche preparation made, and knowlege had therof, the kyng of Scottis cessed not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our natural inclination wrought eftsones their accustomed <sup>1</sup>effect, euermore desirous to fynd in the kyng of Scottis such a regard and respect to be declared in dedes, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the Nephieu to suche an Uncle, as we have shewed our selfe towardes hym, dothe require. Wherfore vpon new request and suite made vnto vs, we determined to stay our army at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norff. our lieutenaunt, the lorde privy seale, the byshop of Dureham, and the master of our horses, there to commen, treate, and conclude, with the Ambassadours of Scotlande, for an amitie and peax vpon suche conditions, as by reason and equitie were indyfferent, wherby the warre might be exchued, being by sundry inuasion of the Scottis than open and manifest.

In this communication between our and their commissioners, after divers degrees of commission, shewed by the Scottis, and finally one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile or hard on our part, but so agreable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotlande sayd, they doubted not, but yf it myght ones be broughte to passe, that the kynge of Scottis our Nephieu might have a meting with vs. all matiers shulde easyly be componed and determined. Whervpon they lefte speakynge of any articles of amitie, and the ambassadours of Scotland made moche outward ioy in communication of a metinge, they shewed them selfe in wordis, facion, and behauor, moche to delyte in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith thought it easy and facile to be concluded and accom<sup>2</sup> plysshed, and for their parte they toke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certayn to take effect, and only desyred .vi. dayes to obteigne answere from their maister, and our army for that tyme to stay and go no further. Whervnto our commissioners then agreed.

AFTER THESE syxe dayes was sent a commission out of Scotlande, with power to conclude a metynge precisely at suche a place, as they knew wel we wolde not, ne coulde not in wynter obserue and kepe, wherwith whan our commissioners were myscontent, the ambassadours of Scotland to relieue that displesure, and to tempre the matier, wherby to winne more tyme, shewed forth their instructions, wherin liberty was gyuen to the ambassadours to excede their commission in the appoyntment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought convenient, whiche maner of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B i. <sup>2</sup> B i. back.

procedyng, when our commissioners refused, alledging that they wold not conclude a metynge with men, hauynge no commission therevato, the ambassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large commission, agreable to their instructions for appoyntment of the place, obtained a delay of other vi. days, to sende for the said ample commission without restrayat of place. And after those vi. dayes they brought forthe a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without exception. But therwith they shewed also newe instructions, conteynings suche a restrayate as the former commission dyd conteyne, so as the libertie given to 1 the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last removed and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a special charge to the ambassadors not to exceede the same.

And thus fyrste the ambassadours of Scotlande semed to have wyll and desyre to conclude of a place semely and convenient, whiche for want of commission they myght not do, and at the laste myght have concluded a metynge by vertue of theyr commission, and then for feare of the commandement in theyr second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed theyr fyrst instructions partly to excuse theyr kynge, who shulde seme secretely to wyll more, than

in the commission he dyd openly professe.

AND THAN with an ample commission from the kyng, they shewed theyr secret instructions for defence of them self, why they proceded not according to their commission, not carying howe much they charged therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to dyscharge them self, trusting that by benefite of the winter approchyng, and the tyme lost in theyr communication theyr maister shulde be defended agaynste our power for this yere, without doinge for theyr parte that by honour, right, lawe, and leages they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane tyme oure subjectes taken prisoners in Scotland coulde not be deliuered vpon any ransome, contrary to al custome and veage of the border in the tyme of peax & warre. and in this meane tyme staied a great part of our army alredy prested, and in our wages to go forwarde. 2 In this tyme ambassadours (as ye haue herde) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communication of a metynge.

The communication of metyng was so handled by alteration of commyssion and instructions on theyr behalfe, as it appereth a playne deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whyche hath gyuen vs lyght, where vpon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scottis inwarde affection towardes vs, whose dedes and wordes well wayed and considered, dothe vs playnely to vnderstande, howe he hath contynually laboured to abuse vs with swete and pleasant wordes, and to satisfy the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkynde and displeasant dedes. In his wordes he professeth an

indissoluble amitie, he alledgeth kinred, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is that he speaketh an other langage to all the worlde in dedes, and therby so toucheth vs in honour and denegation of iustyce, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, whiche god hathe put in our hande as an extreme remedy, wherby to obteigne bothe quiete for our subjectes, & also that is due vnto vs

by right, pactes, and leages.

WE HAVE paciently suffred many delusions, and notably the laste vere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But shuld we suffer our people and subjectes to be so ofte spoyled without remedy? This is done by the Scottis what soo euer theyr wordes be. Shulde we suffer our rebelles to be 1 deteyned contrary to the leages without remedye? This is also done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. Shuld we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrary to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a wylle, pryde, and arrogancye of the other partie? This is done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynste vs. and gyue suche signification of theyr arrogancy, as it is necessary for vs to oppresse it in the begynning, leste they shuld gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the entreatyng of this matier, if we had not euidently perceyued the lacke of suche affection as proximitie of bloudde shulde require, we wold muche rather have remitted these iniuries in respecte of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, than we dyd heretofore the inuasion of his father. But considering we be so surely ascertained of the lacke therof, and that our bloud is there frome with the cold ayre of Scotlande, there was neuer prynce more vyolently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vniust behauiour, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth hym selfe not to be moued therwith, ne to have suche ernest regarde to the observation of his pactes and leages, ne such respect to thintreteynment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conservation of amitie dothe require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puissaunce againste hym, not 2 for reuengeaunce of our private displeasure (being so often deluded as we have ben) but for recourve of our right, the preservation of our subjectes from injuries, and the observation of such leages as have passed between vs. firmely trusting, that almighty god, vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and avde our just procedinges herein to the furtherance and advancement of the right, whiche we doubt not shal euer preuayle againste wronge, falseheade, deceipte, and dissimulation.

¶ Hitherto it appereth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demaund of our right of superioritie, which the kinges of Scottis haue alwais knowledged by homage and fealtie to our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B iii. <sup>2</sup> B iii, back.

progenytours even from the begynnynge: But this warre hath ben protoked and occasioned ypon present matier of displeasure, present iniury, present wrong mynistred by the Nephica to the Uncle most vnnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites most vakindly. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to atteyne the same, there was neuer kynge of this realme had more oportunity in the minority of our Nephieu, Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more juste title, more enident title, more certayn title, to any realme that he can clayme than we have to Scotland, not divised by pretense of mariage, not imagined by covenaunt, or contrived by invention of argument, but lineally descended from the begynnynge of that astate established by our progenitours, and recognised to successively of the Kinges of Scotlande by dedes, wordes, actes & writinges continually almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, til the reigne of our progenitour Henry the .VI. in whose time the Scottis abused the Civile warre of this realme, to theyr licence and boldnes, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximitie of bloudde between vs, we have ben slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we have ever been alwayes glad, rather without prejudice to omyt to demaunde our right, if it myght conserue peace, than by demandyng therof to be sene to moue war, specially against our neighbour, against our Nephieu, ageynst hym, whom we have preserved from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common ennemy the Turke.

But for what so euer considerations we have omitted to speake hitherto of the matier, it is neuer the lesse true that the kynges of Scottes have always knowledged the kynges of Englande superior lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and have done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appereth fyrst by historic written by such as for confirmation of the trueth in memory haue truly noted and signified the same. Secondary it appereth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scotlande, at dyners and sundry times sealed with theyr seales, and remaynynge in our Treasorye. <sup>2</sup>Thirdly it appereth by regesters and recordes indicially and autentiquely made, yet preserved for confyrmation of the same. So as the matier of title being most playne, is furnished also with all maner of evidences for declaration therof.

FYRST as concernynge histories, whiche be called witnesses of tymes, the lyght of trueth, and the lyfe of memory, and fynally the convenient way and meane, wherby thinges of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowlege, they shewe as playnly this matier as could be wyshed or required, with such a consent of writers, as coulde not so agree vppon an vntruth, conteynyng declaration of

such matier as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. as it is probable and lykely, that for the better administration of iustyce amonges rude people, two or mo of one astate might be rulers in one countrie vnite as this Isle is: so is it probable and lykely, that in the beginning it was so ordred for anoydinge discention, that there shuld be one superiour in righte, of whom the sayd astates shuld depend. According whervnto we rede how Brutus, of whom the realme than callyd Brytayn toke fyrst that name (being before that tyme inhabited with gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to have the whole Isle within the Occean sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appoynted Albanact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called Englande: vnto whom as being the lelder sonne, the other two brothers shuld do homage, recognisynge and knowleagyng hym as theyr superior. Nowe consider if Brutus conquered all this Ilande, as the hystorye sayeth he dyd, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superioritie as afore: Howe can there be a title divised of a more playn begynninge, a more juste begynninge, a more convenient begynninge for the order of this Ilande, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, which can not without continual strife and variaunce conteine two or thre rulers in all poyntes equall without any maner of superioritie, the inwarde conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie shulde in some part dull and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fyrst division of this Isle we finde it writen after this sort without cause of suspection why they shulde write amysse. And accordynge herevnto we fynde also in hystory set forth by divers how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessours have chastised the kynges of Scottis, and some deposed, and put other in their ulaces.

VVE will here omyt to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to writing, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other dilygently enserchyng, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Handes adioynyng, ouer and besides that whiche he writeth of the nature, maners, and condytions of the Scottis, whiche who so lyst to rede, shal fynde to haue bene the very same in tymes paste, that we <sup>2</sup> finde them nowe at this present, he calleth Scotlande part of Englande, which is agreable to the diuision aforesayd, being in dede as in the lande contynuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto the same, as by particular declarations shal most manifestly appere by the testimony of such as haue left writyng for proue and confirmation therof. In whiche matier passing ouer the death of Kyng Humbre, the actes of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn & Brene, the victories of king Arthure,

we shal begyn at the yere of our lord .pccc. which is .pc xlil. yeres by past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euidence of the execution of our right and title of superioritie euermore contynued and preserved hytherto.

EDVVARDE the fyrst before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englands, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scottis. And here is to be noted, that this matier was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writing that storye in those dayes, graunteth confesseth and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state xxiiii yere: At whyche tyme Athelstaine succeded in the crowns of Englands, and hauyng by battayle conquered Scotlands, he made one Constantine kynge of that partie, to rule and gouverne the countrys of Scotlande vnder hym, adding this princely woord, That it was more honour to hym to make a kynge, than to be a kyng.

EXXIII yeres after that, whyche was the yere of our lorde to cook kivil, Eldred kynge our progenitour, Athelstains brother,

toke homage of Irise then king of Scottis.

EXX. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde b cocc EXXVII. kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kynalde king of Scottis. Here was a lytell trouble in Englande by the death of saynote Edwarde kyng and martyr, distroyed by the deceite of his

mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

XI. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to say, in the yere of our lord .m xvii. Malcome the kynge of Scottis dydde homage to Knute our predecessour. After this homage done the Scottis vttered some piece of their naturall disposition, whervppon by warre made by our progenitour sainte Edwarde the confessour, xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord .m lvi. Malcolme kynge of Scottis was vanquisshed, and the realme of Scotlande gyuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitour saynte Edwarde: vnto whome the sayde Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within .xi. yeres after that William Conquerour entred this realme, wherof he accompted no perfect conquest, vntyll he had lykewise subdued the Scottis, and therfore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of our lord .mlxviii. the sayd Malcolm kyng of Scottis dyd homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his

superiour by conquest kynge of 2 Englande.

XXV yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our Lorde MXCIII. the sayde Malcolme dyd homage and fealty to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who lykewyse fayled in his duetie, and therfore was ordeyned in that astate by the sayd William Rufus, Edgare brother to the laste Malcolme, and sonne to the fyrste, who dyd his homage and fealtie accordingely.

¹ C ij.

VII. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lord .mc. the sayd Edgar kynge of Scottis, dydde homage to Henry the fyrste, our progenitour.

XXXVII. yere after that, Dauid kyng of Scottis did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the fyrst. Wherfore being after required by Steuen, then obteynyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, bycause he had before made it to the sayde Matilde, and thervpon forbare. After whiche Dauids deathe, whiche ensued shortly after, the sonne of the sayd Dauid made homage to the said kyng Steuen.

XIII. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde MCL. William King of Scottis, and Dauid his brother, with al the nobles of Scotland made homage to HENRY the secondes sonne, with a

reservation of theyr dutie to Henry the second his father.

XXV. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde .MCLXXV. Wylliam king of Scotlande, after 1moch rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, kyng Henry the seconde, than being in Normandy, William then kyng of Scottis knowledged fynally his errour, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the Nobilitie of Scotlande, makynge therwith his homage and fealtie.

WITHIN .XV. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde .MC LXXXX. the sayd Wylliam kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Canturbury, and there dydde homage to our noble progenitour kynge

RICHARDE the fyrst.

XIII. yeres after that, the sayd William dyd homage to our progenitour kynge Iohn, vpon a hyll besides Lincolfi, makyng his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert than archbyshop of Canturbury, being there present a meruaylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

XXVI. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .MCC XVI. Alexander kyng of Scottis maryed Margaret, the doughter of oure progenitoure Henry the thyrde, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at which tyme the said Alexander dyd his homage to our sayde progenitour: who reigned in this realme .LVI. yeres. And therfore betwene the homage made by the saide Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the sayd kyng of Scottis, to Edwarde the fyrst at his coronation at Westnester, there was about fyfty yeres, at whyche tyme the sayde Alexander kynge of Scottes repaired to the sayde feaste of coronation, there did his duetie as is afore sayde.

WITHIN .XXVIII. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde MCC LXXXII. John Baliol kynge of Scottes, made homage and fealtie

to the sayde kynge Edwarde the fyrst, our progenitour.

AFTER THIS began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue sedition therfore, against them of the house of Ballioll, whiche made for a season some interruption in the sayde homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within .xliii. yere after, whiche was the yere of our lords .mcccxxvi. Edwards Baliol, after a great victory in Scotlands agaynet thother faction, and enioyengs the crowns of Scotland, made homage to our progenitour Edwards the thyrds.

AND .XX. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lords .MOCO XLVI. Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wheref he was then in possession, made homage to our sayde progenitour Edwards

the thyrde.

WITHIN .IX. yeres after, this Edward the thyrd, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottis, made warre agaynst them: where after great victories, Edwarde Balliol hauyng the iust and ryght title to the realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely the same to our said progenitour at the towne of Rokysbrough in Scotlande: where our said progenitour accepted the same, and than caused hym selfs to be crowned kynge of <sup>1</sup>Scotlande, and for a tyme enterteygned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary & owner of the realme, as on thone parts by confiscation acquyred, and on the other parts by free wyll surrendred vnto hym.

AND then after the death of our sayd progenitour EDWARDS the thirde, beganne seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour RICHARDS the seconde, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Rycharde, and the devolution of the same, to Henry the IIII. so as the Scottis had some leisure to play their vagues, and followe their accustomed manier. And yet Henry the V. for recourry of his ryght in France, commaunded the kyng of Scottis to attende vpon hym in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlande being descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephieu directly cometh, James Stuarde kynge of Scottis, in the yere of our lorde homage was distaunt frome the tyme of the other homage made by Ibauid Bruse Lx yeres and more, but farre within the fresshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appere by story to have ben made and done at times and season as afore: so do there remayne instrumentes made ther vpon and sealed with the scales of the kynges of Scotlande testifyenge the same. And yet doth it appere by story, how the Scottis practised to steale out of our treasury divers of these instrumentes, which <sup>2</sup> neverthelesse were after recovered agayn. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayde instrumentes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentence as they be made, which we do, to mete with the cauellation and contrived evasion of the Scottes, alleaginge the homage to have benne made for the Erldome of Hunt-

yngton, whiche is as trew as the allegation of hym that is burnte in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikell. And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John N. kynge of Scottes shall be trewe and feythful vnto you lorde Edward by the grace of god kynge of Englande, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make my fydelitie of the same kyngdome of Scotland, the whiche I holde, and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my feythe and fidelitie of lyfe and lymme and worldely honour agaynste all men, and feythfully I shall knowleage, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotlande aforesayd, as god so helpe me & these holy euangelies.

Nows for the thyrde parte touchinge recordes and regestres, we have them so formall, soo autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with suche circumstaunces declarynge the matiers, as they be & ought to be a great corroboration of that hath ben in stories writen and reported in this matier. For amonges other thynges we have the solempne acte, and iudicial processe of our progenitour EDWARD the firste, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same 1 was

challenged by twelve competitours: That is to saye,

Florentius comes Holandie.

Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.

Willielmus de Vesty.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de Pinbeny.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patricius Galightly.
Rogerus de Mundeville.
Joannes Comyn.
D. Joannes de Hastinges.
Joannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruse.
Ercius rex Norwegie.

And finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was given for the title of Balioll, accordyng wherever he enioped the realme. But for confirmation of the duety of homage before that tyme observed by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, howe when those competitours of the realme of Scotland repaired to our said progenitour, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, in as muche as the auctoritie of the independent to be gyuen depended therefore: It was then ordered, that the hole parliament of Scotland spirituall, temporall, and of all degrees, assembled for that purpose, and considering vipon what ground and foundation the kynges of Scotlande had in tymes paste made the sayd homages and recognition of supervoritie, the sayd parlyament

fynding the same substantiall good and true, shulde if they so demed it, yelde and gene place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At whiche parlyamente was alledged vnto theym, as appearth in the same recordes, not onely these actes of the prynces before those dayes, and before rehersed: but also besydes the testimonye of storyes, the wrytinges and letters of foreyn princis, at that tyme recitynge and reheasynge the same. Whervppon the sayde parlyament dyd there agree to this our superioritie, and ensuynge theyr determination dyd particularly and severally make homage and feaultie with proclamation: That who soo euer withdrue hym selfe from doinge his duetic therin, shulde be taken and reputed for a rebel. And so all made homage & fealtie to our progenitour Edwards the first. The realme was in the tyme of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him: all castels & holdes were surrendred to him as to the superior lord in the tyme of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passid in that tyme from the mere gift of our sayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of England, Sheriffes named and apoynted, writtis & preceptes made obeyed and executed: and finally al that we do now in the Duchy of Lancaster, the same 'dyd our progenitour for the tyme of contention for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent and agreement of all astates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the byshoppes of saynt Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they nowe be archebyshoppes, but recognised the prouince of our archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer al that countrey.

Now if the Scottis wyl take exception to the homages of theyr prynces, as made in warre & by force whiche is not true: what wyll they say or can they for shame alledge agaynst their owne parlyament, not of some, but of all confirmed & testified by theyr writynge and scales? whervnto nothing enforced them, but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake like them selves: If they say they dyd it, then doo they nowe lyke them selfes, to with drawe

their duetie, not so moche to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeared vnto you the begynnyng of the righte of superioritie, with a perpetuall contynuance, without intermission within memory, certayne omission and forbearynge upon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby they have many tymes sought and taken theyr oportunities, to withdrawe the doinge of theyr duetie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer theym, whiche to auoyde, they have not cared what they sayde or alleged, though it were never so untrue: lyeng alwayes <sup>2</sup> in awayte whan they might annoye this realme, not without theyr owne great dangier, peril, and extreme detriment. But as they detrected the doing of theyr duetie, so god ever graunted unto this realme force to compell them therunto

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> D ii, back.

within memory, not withstandyng any theyr interruption by resistence, which vnto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the .VI. neuer indured so longe as it made intermission within tyme of mynde, wherby the possession myght seme to be enpaired: from the tyme of Henry the VI vnto the seuenth yere of our reigne, how our realme hathe ben for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of titles, tyl our time and syns by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, The story is so lamentable for some parte therof, as were tedious to reherse.

SITHENS THE death of our progenitour Henry the .VI. our grandfather Edwarde the .IIII. reyned, who after great trauailes to atteyne quietnesse in his realme, fynally in the tyme of preparation of warre against Scotlande, dyed.

RICHARDE the .III. than vsurped for a smalle tyme in yeres, whome the kynge our father by the strength of goddis hand ouer-threw in battaile, and moost justely attayned the possession of this realme, who nevertheles after the great tempestious stormes fyndynge all matiers nat yet broughte to a perfect quiete and reste, ceassed and forbare to require of the Scottis to do theyr duetie, thynking it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the plesant conjunction and conversation of affinitie, then 1 to charge them with theyr fault, and require duety of them, when oportunitie served not, by force and feare to constrayne and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reygne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beinge our revgne nowe, .xxxIIII. veres, we were .xxi. yere letted by our Nephieu his minoritie, being then more carefull howe to bringe hym out of daungier, to the place of a king, then to receive of hym homage when he had full possession in the Wherfore beinge now passed sithens the last homage made by the kinges of Scottis to oure progenitour Henry the .VI. CXXII. yere, at whiche tyme the homage was done at Windesor by James Stuard, then king of Scottis, as afore. LVI. of these yeres the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof engendred also some busynes in the tyme of the kynge our father, whiche was .xxiiii. yere: And in our tyme xxi. yere hath passed in the minoritie of our Nephieu. So as finally the Scottis resorting to theyr onely defence of discontinuance of possession, can onely alledge iustly but .xiii. yere of sylence in the tyme of our reigne, being all the other tymes sithens the homage done by James Stewarde, suche as the silence in them had they ben neuer so longe, coulde not have ingendred prejudice to the losse of any right, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to kyng Edward for not demandyng homage, beinge in strife for that estate, whervnto the homage was due? What shulde Rycharde the .III. serche for <sup>2</sup>homage in Scotlande, that had neither right ne leysure to haue homage done vnto hym in Englande? Who can blame our father,

knowynge the Scottis nature, neuer to do their duetie but for feare, if he demanded not that of them, whiche they wold exchue if they might, being his realme not clerely than purged from yll seeds of sedition, sparkeled and scattered in the cruell civile warres before.

LAWE AND reason serueth, that the passing ouer of tyme not commodious for the purpose, is not allegable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottis hath endured XXI yeres of our reigne, whyche being an impediment on their part, the hole prescription of the Scottis, if the matier were prescriptable, is thus deduced euidentely to XIII. yere, whiche .XIII. yere without excuse we have ceassed and forborne to demaunde our duetic, lyke as the Scottis haue lykewyse cessed to offer and tende the same. For whiche cause neuerthelesse we do not enter this warre, no mynded to demaunde any suche matier: Nowe beinge rather desirous to reioyse and take comfort in the frendshyppe of our Nephieu, as oure neyghbour, than to moue matier vnto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche naturall inclination of loue, as he shuld have towarde vs. But such be the workes of god, superior oner all, to suffre occasions to be minystred, whereby due superioritie may be knowen, demaunded, and required, to the intent that according thervato all thinges gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe over this lyfe, to his honour and glory, whiche he grant vs to do in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shalbe mete and convenient for vs.

## [Div]

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Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

ANNO .M. D. XLII.

An

## Exhortagion to the Scottes

to conforme themselfes

to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Vnion
betweene the two Realmes of

Englande & Scotland.

Bedicated

to

Edward Puke of Somerset by Iames Parryson, Scottisheman.

LONDON:
Printed by Richard Grafton.
1547.

## AN EXHORTATION TO THE SCOTTS.

¶ ¹TO THE RIGHT HIGH AND mightie prince, Edward, Duke of Somerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, lorde Seymour, Gouernor of the persone of the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, and Protector of all his Realmes, Dominions and Subjectes, his lieutenaunt generall of all his armies, bothe by lande and by sea, Tresorer and Erle Marshall of Englande, Gouernor of the Isles of Gernsey and Gersey, and knight of the moste noble ordre of the Garter: Iames Harryson Scottisheman wisheth healthe, honor, and felicitie.

Allyng to mynde (as I do oft) moste excellent Prince, the civill discencion and mortal enemitie, betwene the twoo Realmes of Englande and Scotlande, it bryngeth me in muche maruell, how betwens so nere neighbors, dwellyng with in one land, compassed within one sea, alied in bloude, and knitte in 2Christes faithe, suche vnnaturall discorde should so long continue. Vnnaturall, I maie wel call it, or rather a Ciuill warre, where brethren, kynsmen or countreymen be divided, and seke y' bloud of eche other: a thyng detestable before God, horrible to the worlde, and pernicious to the parties, and no lesse straunge in the ives of reasonable men, then if the lymmes and membres of mannes body, should fall out within them selfes, as the hand to hurte the foote, or the fote the hande. If any vtilitie or gain should growe thereby, it were the lesse maruail. but when there doth nothyng ensue, but suche fruite as warre bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes, murder of men, rauishment 8 of women, slaughter of olde folke and infantes, burnyng of houses and corne, with hunger and pestilence, twoo buddes of the same tre: and finally, the vtter ruyne of the whole kyngdom, I wonder that emongest so many pollitique rulers as be, and have been in both realmes, the mischief so long spied, the remedy hath not yet bee sought. Who is so blynd that doth not see it, or who so harde harted, that doth not pitic it? I omitte here to speake of the greate afflictions and miserie, whiche Scotlande hath susteined by warres in tymes passed, a matter ouer long to be rehersed, and yet to great to be forgotten. But to come to later tyme, what hath been doen within these sixe yeres, sithe the warres wer

reluited, how the countrey hath been ouer runne, spoyled and heried by Englishemen on the one side, and by our awne warremen or rather robbers on the other side (to speke nothyng of the plague of God) it would greue any harte, to thinke. If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the feldes lie ful of their bodies, whose deathes thei moste cruelly and vnchristianly have procured. If Edenbrough, Lieth, Louthian, Mers or Tiuidale had tongues to speake, their loude complainte would perse the deafe eares. But what nedeth speche, when their iyes maie se plain enough, what their deuillish har tes haue deuised. This miserie is muche to be sorowed, and more to be sorowed, then their wickednes to be detested, whiche haue kyndled the fire, and still laie on brandes to feede the same. In whom if either respect of Religion, whiche thei professe, or zeale of Iustice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or love to their countrey, did any thyng woorke, thei would refuse no trauaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for ye sauegarde of theim, whose distruccion thei haue wrought. And these bee onely twoo sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueled, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would have no peace nor concord: \* the other bee suche as for a lawelesse libertie and doyng wrong vnpunished, would pull out their heddes from all lawe and obedience. Such and none other be aduersaries to our cause. If these ij sortes (I saie) should fele but half the miserie, whiche the poore people be driven to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes. These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuse the ignoraunce of the nobilitie and commonaltie, to ye destruccion of bothe, hauyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeaunce in their hartes, pretendyng religion, perswade rebellion, preaching obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, callyng themselfes 'spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed heddes of the Churche, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the Churche. If these people would as earnesty trauail for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indeuour with toothe and naill to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaied, should either not have happened, or els at the least, not so long have continued: by whose lure, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in dispaire of any amitie or frendship betwene these two realmes. GOD bryng their falsehed once to light, and turne their iniquitie vpon their awne heddes.

Byr to my purpose, seing the mischief so greate, the aucthors so many, the mainteinaunce so strong, band so few that seke amendement: in declaracion of mine earnest zeale and vnfained affeccion towardes my countrey, I in default of other, put my self in prease. And though least able, yet moste willyng and desirous of the honor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> a iij, back <sup>2</sup> a iiij <sup>3</sup> a iiij, back <sup>4</sup> a v <sup>5</sup> a v, back COMPLAYNT. 14

and quiet of bothe realmes, whiche cause, seing it correspondeth to vertue & godlinesse, me thought it convenient to seke for the same, a patrone vertuous and Godly, whereby your grace entered my remembraunce, whose procedynges hetherto have made manifest to the worlde, what an ardent zeale ye beare, to thaduauncement of all veritie & truth : So that all men conceiue certain hope, that by your high wisedom, pollicie, & other Princely vertues, the stormes of this tempestilous worlde, shall shortely come to a calme. And seying God hath not onely called you to the height of this estate, but so prospered your grace in all affaires, bothe of war and peace, as your actes bee comparable to theirs, whiche beare moste fame : your grace easthot merite more towardes GOD or the worlde, then to put your helpyng hande to the furtheraunce of this cause. Hereby shall you declare an incomparable service to the kynges Maiestie of England, whiche beyng young of yeres, is yet ripe in vertue, to gouerne any kyngdom, whose excellent giftes of nature, and inclinacion to all Godlinesse considered, the world is in opinion, that he shalbee nothyng inferior to the greate honor and glorie of 2his father, whose praises I oner passe, fyndyng my selfe vnable to expresse theim in any degree. But sith your grace, as a person moste electe, is called to the governance and tuicion of his persone, and proteccion of his realmes and dominions, all mennes expectacion is, that hauyng so apte a moulde to worke vpon, you shall so frame his youthe with verteons preceptes, Godly examples, and sincere educacion, as he shall prone a Kyng equal with those, whom old histories, do moste commend. Wherein your graces laude cannot wante, beyng so worthie a gouernor of so noble a kyng: and muche more if by your pollicie, diligence, and circumspeccion, he shal at his perfect yeres bee restaured to the whole siale of Britayn, where unto as he is iustely entitled: So God the protector of al iust causes, shal bryng your attemptes therin to good successe. For the furtheraunce whereof, I have declared myne opinion in writyng, whiche, with humble harte I offre and dedicate vnto your good grace: not as a gyfte worthie so greate an estate, but yet not vnmete for my purpose, ne for the tyme & occasion present, wherin though I neither perswade my cause so pithihely, ne open it so lively, as to so weightie a matter is requisite: Yet it maie serue either for a testimonye of myne honest meaning, or minister occasion to better learned men, to dilate this argument more largely, whereby all warre and hostilitie maie cease and peace and concord take place. GOD the verie aucthor of peace, euer preserue your grace, to the increase of the same, and furtheraunce of all Godlinesse: and graunte to the kynges Maiestie

of England his righteous possession of the whole monarchie of Britayn, to thaduancement of Gods glory, confort to his lieges, and confusion of his enemies.

avj savj, back savij savij, back

[A viij blank; back, recupied with a plate of the arms of England, and other emblons.]

<sup>1</sup>/THE CAUSE WHER of I treate beeyng so weightie, the discourse so large, & my witte and cunnyng so small to set it furthe, I might well be discoraged to entre so greate a ground: but that loue to my countrey on the one side, and desire of concorde and quietnes on the other side, moue me to speake, hopyng that the honesty of the matter shall supplie the rude handelyng, and the plain veritie, to stand in stede of eloquence and cunnyng. For like as in an euill cause, muche arte and conueyaunce must be vsed, afore it can appere good: euen so in a cause true, honest, and righteous, there needeth no subtile 2 perswasions or finesse of woordes: but how muche the plainer so muche the better, and how much ye more eloquent, somuch the more suspicious. For truthe is sufficient of her selfe, and needeth no colours, no more then natural beawty, nedeth of paintyng. Taking this for my foundacion, I maie the more boldely procede without feare of offence, seeying my cause is suche, as all good men will further, all wise men fauor, and all Godly men defende, as that whiche beeyng enbraced, shall doo good to many, and hurt to none, and beyng neglected, shall hurte a multitude, and anayle no man, tendyng no lesse to the commoditie of the aduersaries, then of of the \*fauorers. Thus the ground beyng so true, the occasion so honest, and the querell so righteous, there wanteth nothyng but one that could set thesame furth accordyngly. And seeyng suche as canne best, liste not, and that ought moste, will not, and that wold faynest, dare not take this vniuersall cause in hande, I beyng simple, vnlearned, and most barayn of all orators arte and perswasion, yet armed with truth, moued with honestie, and prouoked by loue, towardes God and my countrey, (as Dauid against Golias) entre the felde against the mightie Giauntes, enemies of concorde and vnitie, desirving all my countreymen of Scottlande (whose cause I now specially entreat) to geue me pacient hearyng, whilest I suade theim to that, whiche shalbe acceptable to God, commendable to the world. joyfull to their frendes, hatefull to their enemies, profitable to all parties, and to none so muche as to themselfes.

To ground my cause vpon truth (as I promised) I will sette my foundacion, vpon the infallible truthe of Gods woorde, takynge this texte for my purpose. Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur: that is to saie: every kyngdom divided in it self, shalbe brought to desolacion. If this sentence bee well marked, and the persone of the speaker considered, I shall not nede to bee long in perswadyng you to beleve it. The wordes be true: for he that spake them, cannot lye, whiche is Christ himself the aucthor of al truth and veritie. But though Christ had not spoken them, let vs se whether comon reason dooth not affirme theim, and the experience of all

¹bj ²bj, back ³bij ⁴bij, back ³biij

realmes and countreis, in al tymes and ages, hath not approued theim. And to fet our examples not out of straunge countreys, loke well vpon the Chronicles of this island of Britain, and consider the estate thereof, from the beginnyng, and compare theim, with the histories of other nacions, and you shal not lightly heare or read of any one countrey sithe the worldes creacion, more inuaded, wasted, and destroyed, then this Islande, ne 1 of people more often, ne more cruelly spoyled, exiled, or afflicted, then the inhabiters thereof, and all by division and discord: the sedes wherof, beyng laied in by the deuil as pouder vnder a walle, after it once toke fire, did so terribly shake the foundacions of their common weale, that it rived a sunder their kyngdome and monarchie, and dividyng it into partes, broughte the whole at last to ruyne and desolacion, which hath not been fully reconsred to this daie, nor in my judgement like to be, so long as the islande is divided into two partes, and knowen by two names, that is to mie, England & Scotlande, and vnder twoo senerall governours. The cause whereof 2though it maie chiefly bee ascribed to the juste vengeaunce of God, prouoked with the synnes of the people, as Gildas witnesseth; yet is it clere that the onely meane thereof, was discord and division, emong the Insulanes, wherby it came to passe, whylest every one strived, all were over comen, and made an easy prey to strauge nacions. For althoughe outward enemies, vpon tiranny and conquest, as the Romayns, or els expulsed from their countreys, and driven to seke newe dwellynges as the Pictes, or allured with ye fertilitie of ye soyle as the Scottes inhabityng, the north partes of Irelande, inuaded this islande: Yet could those people neuer haue kepte quiete \*possession, ne reigne so long as thei did, but through division and discord emong the Britaynes, whiche beeyng stiffe necked against God, and ingrate eche to other (as the said aucthor writeth) by their demerites, wer not onely ouercome with outwarde inuasions, but finally lost their name and Empire, whereby the inhabitauntes beyng mixt with straungers, haue euer sithe been vexed with intestine warres and civill discorde, to the irremediable ruine and desolation therof, vntil it shal please Gods goodnesse to have mercie on the people, and to reduce the islande to the firste estate, to one Monarchy, vnder one kyng and gouernor as it was in the Britons tyme. But if God of his goodnesse, without our desertes hath in these latter daies, prouided that blessed meane and remedy for the glorie of his name, and for our wealth and commoditie: and wee for our parte, either of stubburnesse will not, or of wilfulnesse liste not, thankefully to receive his synguler grace and benefite so freely offered, what then maie bee thoughte in vs? Ought not then all good men thynke (as thei doos in deede) that all the mischiefe, effusion of bloud, hunger and other miseries ensuyng of warre, fall vpon vs worthely and by deserte. Yes verely: And surely in this parte, I must desire you my coun-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> b iij, back <sup>2</sup> b iiij <sup>3</sup> b iiij, back <sup>4</sup> b v

treymen, bothe of pardon and paci<sup>1</sup>ence, when I shall disclose the cause of this mischief, and the long continuaunce thereof, to come rather of vs, then of the contrary parte, whiche iudgemente (God is my witnesse) procedeth neither of adulacion to English men, nor of malice to any estate, but as my conscience moueth me, and as the truthe to al wise-men maie appere.

Byr afore I will stirre that vnsauery sinke of treson and trecherie, as one that intendeth to make a greate lepe, I muste bee forced to ronne backe to fetche my course, wherefore, omittyng the mattiers of the tyme present, I must repete the estate of this island from the beginning, and what were the causes of this diguision at the firste, and by what waies it hathe continued from tyme to tyme, and how it is yet norished, to the ende that vpon the causes opened, and the persones detected, that bee workers therof, the remedies maie be the soner founde, and simple people be ware of those, that with fayned fables and lies, haue ledde them long blindfold, & so would kepe them, to the perdicion both of their soules and bodies, and then shall we se, whether this saiving of Christ afore recited, maie not be wel verefied in vs of Britayne. In the discourse whereof, because the right & title whereby the kynges of Englande claime to be superior Lordes of Scotland, is incidently touched: I wil 8 vse for the more parte the testimonies either of Scottish chronicles, or forein writers, and litle of the Englishe, onlesse where bothe Scottishe and Englishe do agre, or where by apparaunt reason, the truthe standeth more on thone side, then on the other: and all to advoyde the common cauillacion of suche, as say, how the Kynges of Englande proue their title to Scotlande, onely by Englishe aucthors.

THE opinion of moste writers, and specially of Latins (at whom, aswell for auncientie, as indifferencie, I take my ground) is, that this islande of Britayn, whiche conteineth bothe realmes of Englande and Scotland (as I saied afore) was at the firste, called Albion, that is to saie the white lande, hauyng that name ab albis rupibus, that is to saie, of the White Rockes and Cleues, whiche appere vpon the sea costes of the saied islande, even as we at this daie call the countrey from whence the Brasill wood commeth, Brasilia: whiche opinion is more probable then the deuise of a late Welshe Poete, ymaginyng how it was called Albion, of one Albina, eldest of the fiftie daughters, of one Dioclesian kyng of Syria, whiche hauyng killed fiftie kynges, beyng their husbandes, wer for the same exiled. And after long wanderyng in ye seas, arrived at laste in this Islande, where thei ingendered with spirites, & brought furth l. 6 Giauntes, whiche wer Gog Magog and his felowes, with suche poeticall fables, not onely without good foundacion, but also mere contrary to all auncient stories, and welnere against al possibilitie of nature. But as the beginning of all nacions for the more part be fabulous and vncertain, some fetchyng their pedegre from the Goddes, and some

<sup>1</sup> b v. back 2 b vi 3 b vi, back 4 b vii 5 b vii, back

from the deuils, as the Grekes from Jupiter, the olde Gaules from Pluto God of helle; so the better opinion, aswel of the latre writers, as also of Gildas a Britayn is, that this island was inhabited from the beginning, by these that were borne in thesame, & afterward as the world multiplied, grewe vnto a greate 1 people, and from a people vnto a kyngdome, and gouerned by Kynges, as by stories is to bee seen, of whom the firste that wee finde, was one Brutus, whiche, whether he came out of Italy or not, is not muche materiall, but certain it is, that suche a one reigned, and was firste Kyng of the whole ideade: whiche beginning of the people, dooth make muche more with the honor and glory of this islande, then to deduce a pedegree, either from an outlaw of Italy, or a tirauntes sister out of Egipt, as Weishe & Scottishe Poetes, have phantastically fayned. For if wee accompt nobilitie by auncientie of yeres, & length of tyme (as some vec nows a daies) what can bee 2 more suncient, more moble, more high, or honorable, then to have a beginnyng beyond all memory, and in processe of yeres, from small families, to growe into a greate Monarchie & kyngdom. In whiche poynt, the old latins of when the Romaynes discended, sette a greate parte of their glory, callyng themselfes Aborigines, that is to saie: a people from the beginnyng.

Buvrus the first Kyng of this whole Islande, by whom it was called Britayne, & the people thereof Britaynes, reigned the yere after the creacion of the worlde, foure thousande, CC and xlij. and as writers affirme, had three sonnes, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, emong whom he divided the whole island, assignyng youreme empire with your greatest and moste fruitful part toward the Southe, vnto Locrinus his eldest sonne, of whom it was called Logres, and now England. To the second sonne, named Albanactus, he assigned another part towardes the Northe, whiche at this day the Scottee possesse: by which Albanactus, the countrey was called Albasia, and the people, Albanactes, as shalbe shewed hereafter. The iji. part, liyng West, & towardes the seas of Gaule, whiche nowe is called Wales, he gaue to Camber his yongest sonne, by whom it was called Cambria, & the people, Cambrians, as they cal themselfes to this day.

And though the island was 'thus parted, betwene the three brethren, yet the supreme power and kyngdome, remained alwayes in the eldest; to whom the other twoo were obedient, as to a superior kyng. The profe wherof, if any bee so curious to require, I aunswere, that thesame histories, whiche speake of this particion, declare in likewise of the subjection: So that admittyng them in the one, their muste likewise bee admitted in youther. For your more corroboration wherof, the histories, bothe of Britons and Romaines agre, that the Islande was under kynges at the beginning: whiche as their were called Kynges of Britayne, so was you general name of

¹ b viij ² b viij, back ² c j ⁴ c j, back

the people, Brytons, neither was there lany other state or Kyngdome in the Islande at those daies, but onely of Britons. In so muche, that the Romaines, beyng most diligent reporters of the names of Princes by them subdued, and countreys conquered, whereas thei make particular mencion of diverse kynges of the Britaines and of sundery cities in Britain, yet do thei neuer name any people called Scottes, ne make mencion of any suche Princes, as is pretended to have ruled over them whiche, if thei had been so glorious, bothe in warre and peace, as thei be set furthe: how should their actes have been hidden to the Romaines, which contended with all men for glory, for thirst whereof, thei sometymes sought <sup>2</sup>enemies at y worldes ende. And though it maie be said, that Casar and diverse other neuer came so farre as Scotlande, by a great distaunce: yet, how could it be, yt Iulius Agricola, whiche, after the Southe partes of Britain was made a prouince to ye Romayns inuaded vnto ye Orcades, which is the farthest part of Scotland: & after .viii. yeres warres there at the foote of the mounte Grampius, now called Granzeben, fought against Galgacus with ten M. Britaines, whom he there ouerthrewe: how (I saie) could he bee ignoraunt of the Scottes or of their warres! So that it muste be graunted, that at those daies, either thei wer not in Britayne, or if thei wer in Britayne, their sname and power was nothing suche, as we pretend. For who so diligently considereth the course of the said stories, shall well se, yt neither Pictes ne Scottes had any dominion in Britayn, vntil about the declinacion of the Romain Empire: and that the Pictes entered into Britayn before the Scottes, in the time of kyng Marius, whiche was aboute the yere of Christe .lxxii. After whiche tyme, with the helpe of the Irishe Scottes, thei vexed the Britaines with continuall incursions. These Pictes wer a people of Scithia, now called Tartarie, & driven out of their countrey, sought herberough emonges Irish Scottes, who beyng nothing glad of such gestes, procured theim to set foote in Brytayne as thei did in deede, and ther continued many yers after. This people wer called Pictes, because in stede of garmentes, thei vsed to paint their skynnes with sundery figures of beastes and birdes, having collers of of yron about their neckes, and girdelles of thesame, aboute their wastes, and specially the nobilitie of theim, whiche estemed the same for a greate poynt of branerie. This doth Herodian write in the life of Seuerus themperor, whiche came into Britayne, and repaired the walle, begonne afore by Adrian his predecessor, by whiche walle, the Prouince of the Romaynes was divided, from the residue of Britain, and 5 was made firste to resist the incursions of suche Britaynes as thei accompted sauage and barbarous. The ruynes of this wal, are to be seen at this present: wherefore it semeth to me, that afore the time of thesaied Adrian, the name, neither of Pictes ne Scottes, was neuer knowen in Britayne, so that if thei had any possession there afore,

o ii o ii, back o iii o iii, back o iiii

thei came to it, rather by stellth then by any open force, or conquest. I speake not this to minishe the honoure and glory of my countrey, nor to deface yo nobilitie, or the valeaunt actes of the Scottishe kynges, but to shewe that the first inhabitors of this island, wer al Britaines, more then vi C. yeres afore Scottes had any Kyngdom there, and that thei had no suche originall, as some haue phantasied, but y' thei are a people mixt with Britaynes & come of Britaynes. In profe whereof, it is saied, that the Armes of Scotlande, borne at this daie (the trace of the floure deluce except, whiche was late put in) is the self same armes, that Brute bare: yet wil I not affirme that Scottes be mere Britaynes, or Englishe men mere Britaynes, but that the more parts of bothe people bee discended of Britaynes. For though the Islande hath been often inuaded by sundry nacions as Romaynes, Pictes, Scottes, Saxons, Danes, and lastely by Normaynes: yet doth it not followe, yt the whole bloud of Bri-Staynes was so extincte thereby, but that there must great numbre remain in every parts of the island, wherby it maie be said yt the race of them is mixte, but not merely fordoen and extirped: for no countrey can bee so inuaded by straungers, yt the whole race of the olde inhabiters, can bee worne all out, but that the substaunce or more parte, shall still remain. As for example, Italie hath been invaded by Gothes, Vandales, Honnes, and other barbarous nacions, can it therfore be saied that the whole Romain blod is vtterly extinct? no verely: for of necessitie ye stocke dooth still abide, thoughe not wholy, yet in the more part. And likewise of Englande and Scot<sup>8</sup>lande, I doubte not to saie, and am able to proue, that the great parte of bothe realmes, is come of yould Britayns. thoughe we have been mixed with foreyn nacions, whereby the Britayne tongue is chaunged & out of vse, yet doth the bloud and generacion remain: and as for the Irish toungue, whiche thei speake in the North partes of Scotland, dooth no more proue them to be mere Irishe, then the Englishe toungue vsed in all the South partes of Scotlande, proueth the people there to be Englishe.

Byr to resorte to our purpose, how can it stand with reason, that the Pictes and Scottes, two strong nacions should make great warres, should so often in fest and vexe bothe Brytains & Romaines, ye and ouercome them and at length stablish two kingdomes in the Island, and no remembraunce thereof founde in any story, either of the Britains or Romaines, nor in any other autentique or approued Cronicle. For Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptholomæus and Plinius, Romayne aucthors (thoughe we speake of no mo) & on the other syde, Gildas, nooste auncient writer of the Brytaines, though euery wher in their histories, they make special mencion of all the people, then dwelling in Britayne, yet speake thei nothing of those twoo nacions, whiche if their were chefe & strongest (as oure writers pretende) how coulde their names be prestermitted of so many aucthors, wherby one of

<sup>1</sup> c iiii, back 2 c v 3 c v, back 4 c vi 5 c vi, back

these two thinges muste be graunted, that either they were not then come into Britayne, or els (if thei were come) they remayned subiectes to the Britaynes, according to the English history. Agaynst which though it maybe objected, that Britayne was not alwayes from the beginning, vnder one Kyng or one Ruler, but was gouerned somwhiles by one, and somwhiles by mo, (as the Romayne stories declare) whereby there should be no suche Monarchie and kyngdome, nor any such order prescribed by Brute, as the English stories specifie: yet doth that make nothing to proue, the Scottes not to be come of Briltaynes, ne enforceth any title for them, to be no subiectes to England: for it may stand together, that the estate of Britayne was suche at the beginninge, as the Englishe cronicles mencion: & as in time all thinges chaunge, so by occasions ensuying, the first ordre might be broken, and from one intier kyngdome, to be divided into partes, as it should seme, that it was about the coming of Cæsar, who writeth, that at his arryuall in Britayne, the cities by common assente, elected Cassibilanus, to their king, wherby it maye be gathered, that the Monarchie therof, was then broken by some faccion within the Islande, which caused it to be a more easy prey to enemies. And 2 this verefieth my woordes spoken afore: that division and discorde of the people brought this Island first, into subjection of other nacions. This is confirmed by the Romayn stories, but namely by Cornelius Tacitus, saiynge that Britaynes at the first were vnder Kynges, and afterwardes by faccions and sedicions of Prynces and great men, were so divided in themselfs, that to resist an vniuersal peril, scarsely twoo or three countreys at the most, would agre together: so fighting in partes, at last the whole was ouercome. And by this meane was Britayne fyrste subdued, & made tributarie to the Romayns, vnder whome it continued in fourme of a prouince, syntill the tyme of great Constantine the Emperour, by whome it was restored to libertie: yet was it not so broughte in subjection al this tyme, but that there were for the most part, kinges in Britayne, as our stories testifie, and likewise the Romayne: wherein we reade of Arniragus, whome Iuuenal writing to Nero, signifieth to be a kyng by these woordes: De tæmone Britanno, excidet Aruiragus, that is to saye: Aruiragus shall fall frome the stem of Britayne. And after hym, of Lucius, ye first christen King, whom Elutherius bishop of Rome, in one of his epistles, calleth kyng of Britaynes, and so of Coclus with divers Wherefore admitting the state of Britayn to hatue been suche at the beginning, as the English story affirmeth, (which we must admitt, because the contrarye appeareth not) though there happened som interrupcion of the monarchie by the Romayns, or otherwyse: yet when the people atteyned their libertie, and were gouerned by Kynges of their awne: we muste presume, that thei obeied them & their lawes, & the people to hold their lands in like

<sup>1</sup> c vij 2 c vii, back 3 c viij 4 c viii, back

course, as was ordeyned at the first: wherof it muste followe, y' if Scottes were in Britayn at those daies, they knowledged ye kynges of Britayn for their superiors, according to the stories. In which point I will not muche stycke, consideringe the name of Scot1tes was not then knowen, as I said afore. And though our writers dreame diverse thynges to the contrary, we cannot admitte their bare allegacions in disprofe of so many stories, of so graue writers, in whom, as there is lesse suspicion of parcialitie, so was there more certaintie of knoweledge, then in the other, whiche were vnborne after theim, by a great numbre of yeres. But admit no suche ordre to have been prescribed in government of the kyngdome, as the Roglishe storie alledgeth; and though there had been, yet the interrapcion to be sufficient cause, to breake the same : and admit the Scottes to have been then in Britayne as thei were not: Let vs se whether we cannot vnite these people by another waie. It is certain that after the Romayns had reduced the South and West partes of Britayn into a prouince, as men desirous to enlarge their empire never content with part, till thei had the whole, thei inuaded the Norths partes of Britayne, and ceased not, till thei came to the Orcades, and so in fine, brought the whole islande in subjection : their stories herein bee playne.

AND no less plain is it, that Constancius themperor, who died at Yorke, maried Helene, called saincte Helene, doughter & heire to Coyll kyng of the Britayns, of whom he begatte the greate Constantyne, afterwardes Emperor, not onely of Britayn, but also of y whole worlde: in whose persone, bothe titles, as wel that, whiche the Romaynes had by conquest, as also that, which his mother Helene had (as heire of Britayn) wer vnited & knit together, and he without al doubt or controuersy, was very Emperor of al Britayn, wherby the island after long scruitude, was at last (as it wer by Gods prouidence) restored to his former libertie & honor, themperor beyng begotten in Britayn, some of her, that was heire of Britayne, borne in Britayne, and create Emperor in Britayne. Now if Scottes wer then in Britayn (as our writers alledge) then wer thei subjectes to Constantine, because the stories be euident, that he had al <sup>4</sup>Britayn in possession, wherunto whether he came by Helene his mother, or by Constancius his father forceth not much: for it suffiseth for our purpose, to proue yt al Britayn, was vnder one Emperor, and beeyng vnder one Emperor, then was Scotlande and Englande but one Empire. In confirmacion wheref, besides the testimony of old histories, there be two notable thynges yet observed in Englande, by all the kynges successively, even sithe ye saied Constantine. The one is yt thei weare a close crowne Emperiall, in token that the lande is an empire free in it self, & subject to no superior but GOD. The other is, that in al their warres, thei beare a banner with a red <sup>5</sup>Crosse, for their ensigne, in memory of that

¹dj ²dj, back ²dij ⁴dij, back ⁵dij

Crosse, whiche appered to themperor Constantine gooyng to battaill, when this voyce was heard: Constantine, in hoc signo vinces, that is to saie, with this ensigne thou shalt prenaile. These twoo monumentes of honor & religion in Britayn, wer received from that noble emperor.

EVTROPIVS witnesseth, that Britayne rested in libertie, duryng the life of Constantyne, who left behind hym .iii. sonnes successors of his Empire, Constancius, Constans, and Constantyne, to whom beeyng youngest, there fell for his porcion Britain, Spayne, Fraunce, and the Orcades. This Constantyne was lafter slayne in Italye, by whose deathe, the Empire of Britayne came to his brother Constancius whiche reigned twenty yeres, in whose bloud, it remained .xxiiij. yeres after, y' is to saie, vntil the v yere of the ii brethren, Gracian and Valentinian, Emperors, what tyme by fauor of the people, Maximus was creat emperor in Britain. This Maximus as Hector Boetius alledgeth, in yo.vij. boke of his historie, discended of yo bloud of greate Constantine, & reigned ouer the whole islande of Britain and the Orcades, seventene yeres without interrupcion. And being desirous of more empire, with a greate numbre of Britaines, entered into Fraunce, & slewe Gracian the Emperor at Lions, and 2 forced Valentinian the other brother to flee to Constantinople, for ayde of the Emperoure ther. Neuertheles (as al worldly thynges be mutable) hys fortune was to be slayne in Italy, leuynge behynd hym a sonne named Victor, who was slayne in Fraunce: whereby the state of Britayne, drew euery days into worse. It were longe to reherse the mutacions of thinges, happening in Britayn, from the tyme of great Constantine, vnto Valentinian the Emperoure, in whose dayes, the Empire of Roome was inuaded with great multitudes of Barbarous nations. And in his tyme, did yo Scottes beinge a nacyon come oute of Irelande (as Gildas writeth) passe souer into Britayne and finding the lande destitute of men of warre, whiche either were all slayne by tyrauntes, or waisted by long warres in other countreys, entred the Island & makinge league with the Pictes, preuayled so at length, yt they obteyned all ye North parte of Britayn in possession, callyng ye countrey Scotlande, and themselfes Scottes. And this was the thrid nacion yt Inuaded this Island: First cominge out of Scithia into Irelande, and frome Irelande into the North partes of Britayne. The Capitayn and leder of this people (as Beede witnesseth) was one Rewda, albeit the late Scottishe Cronicles set a muche further beginnyng, whiche I wyll 4touch in his place. But if we beleue Beede, a man for hys liuing and learning, reconed in the numbre of sainctes, and of ecclesiasticall writers, called Venerabilis, the comming of the Scottes into Britayne was not vntyll about ye yere of Christ .CCCC.xliij. which was long after the comming of the Pictes: to whose opinion, though he was a Saxon, I would soner assent, then to the new fonde fables of our

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> d iij, back <sup>2</sup> d iiij <sup>3</sup> d iiij, back <sup>4</sup> d v

Scottishe Poetes, framed vpon phantasie, without auctoritie precedent.

AND for the further profe of this Monarchie, it is reade in the tyme of Lucius, whiche was the firste christen Kynge of the Britaynes, as is said afore: ther were in Britayne iij. high Pretstes. or Bishoppes, Idolaters, of the Heathen religion, called Archiffamines. and xxviii. other inferiour Bishoppes of thesame supersticion, called Flamines: In stede of whom, this godly King, ordeined as many Bishoppes of Christes religion, & thre Archebishoppes, placinge the first at London, the second at Yourke, and the thirde in the citie of Legions, whiche at this day is called Chester. To the prouince of Yourke, there belonged all the northe parte of Britayne, now called Scotlande with the orcades. And notwithstanding all the mutations, happening in processe of yeres, yet al the Bishops of those countreys, came vato Yorke to be consecrated of yo Arch bisshop there, and promised obedience vnto him, as to their Metropolitane & hed bishop: albeit by occasion of warres, they were summewhiles letted so to do. And of latter dayes, that is to saye, in the tyme of Henry the ij. Kynge of Englande, whiche was about the yere of Christ a M.C. & lv. the Englishe historic showeth, that Michaell Bishop of Glascow, and after him, Tothadus Bishop of Saincte Andrewes, were consecrated by Thomas Archebishop of Yourk. If my countreymen belove me not in thys point, let them belove the Bulles of Paschall, Calixte, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius and Adrianus, Bishoppes of Rome, written to the Bishops of Scotlande, So often 3 as any of theym were rebell, or would not acknowledge the Archebishop of Yourke, Primate of Scotland, for their head Bisshop. This I alledge to shewe, that the two realmes at the first were not onely vnited in one Empire, but also in one Religion the superioritie wherof, seynge it so longe continued in the English side, proueth in that part a certayn kynde of subjection in Scottes, whyche I passe ouer: But nowe havinge sufficiently alleged to prove, that al we were Britaynes at the beginning, come of one kynde, and livinge vnder one Monarchie, broken by division and civil discorde, as is shewed before: there restethe to disproue the fayned alligacions of the contrary part, which conuey you from Pharao, the tyraunt of Egipt. And as it is to conjecture, if their willes might take place, their would bryng you vnder the seruitude of Egypte again. But before I touche y' argument, according to my promisse at y' beginning, I must in part disclose the aucthors therof, whose vntrouthes, though I passe ouer, yet will they bewrey it them selfes: for it is not vnknowen what persons they be, that take vpon them to write stories and Cronicles, both in England & Scotlande: which for the more parte, be Monkes and Fryers, suche as in name professe Religion, beyng in dede the peruerters of all true Religion. These men, issuyng from the prince of darkenesse, broughte vp in darkenes, &

<sup>1</sup> d v, back 2 d vi 3 d vi, back 4 d vij 4 d vij, back

maynteined by darkenes, seke nothinge so muche as to kepe the worlde in darkenes, & not without cause: for if their state shuld come to light, the people should espye howe they are plantes, not planted by the heavenly Father but to be pulled vp by ye rootes. Which thing being well perceived by yo most noble king, of immortal memory, Henry the VIII of England, like a prince no lesse Godly then prudent, cleuyng in that part to Christes worde, weded out of his realme those wicked plantes, not onely unprofitable to his common wealth, but also enemies to all veritie and true Religion, whose example, if 'we of Scotlande, had the grace to folow, I would nothlyng dispaire of an honourable and Godly concorde, betwene bothe realmes in shorte time: & that without suche warre & effusion of bloud, as this deuillish generacion hath procured. But to the purpose, these men (I saie) after sathan was let lose, & had filled yo whole world full of tumult & sedicion, ragyng with fire & sworde against the Gospel, (which even then began to geve light in Britain) as Oules not apperyng in the day, nesteled themselfes in the nighte of that ignoraunt worlde, hauving as mete a tyme to crepe into the consciences of the simple Britaynes, as euer Saxons or Danes had, to inuade their land and countrey. So apperving to theim with a visor of simplicitie and holines, semyng lambes outwardly, and neuerthelesse Wolues inwardlie, gat credite of vertue and Godlinesse: And seeyng the Coccle, whiche their father Sathan had sowen emong the Corne, so faire commyng vp, because the haruest should be weedes, watered the yearth, with suche abundante showers of lves and fables, that the wedes ouer growyng yo corne, the cropp was accordyng to the seede, and with suche kynde of breade have thei fedde the silly people, vtteryng their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities. For as Kytes bryng furthe no culuers, no more can the father 3 of falshed bryng furthe children of truthe, qualis pater talis filius; thei then beyng the impes of so euill a tree, muste of congruence bryng furthe friute, like to them selfes, whiche was well sene in those dayes: For what through mischiefe & mortalitie, raised by theim on the one side: And what through preaching lies & phantasies, on the other side, not only Gods woorde, but also all other knowledge, hath been obscured: whereof ensued vniuersal ignoraunce, who, being ioyned with error, brought furth an vnhappie babe, called contencion, whom thei have moste tenderly fostered euer since: not onely ministryng matter thereof, in pulpittes and stoles, but also in their stories and 4 chronicles, myngelyng the same with so many sedicious falls hodes, as it is in doubte, whether the lines or lies bee mo in number. And because it were long to reherse al their lesynges and vanities, beying to many to be well numbered, and to apparaunt to be hidden (for all be poudered with like peper) yet in the Scottishe story, a greate part of their practises is to bee seen, and that even at the very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> d viij <sup>2</sup> d viij, back <sup>3</sup> e i <sup>4</sup> e i, back

beginnyng, wherat, if thei stumble, what shall we iudge of the reste. If the matter wer onely Poetical, or vpon desire to shewe an auncient beginnyng, it might happely be borne and yet scarse in astorie, the law wherof, is to affirme nothyng that is false, to hyde nothyng that is true, neither to bee ledde with fauor, ne hatered. But seeyng the thyng is doen of a sette purpose, for norishyng diuision

in the twoo Realmes, I cannot ouer passe it with silence.

"GATHELVS sonne of Cecrops, kyng of Athens or Argiues, "beeyng banished oute of Grece, with certain other fugitiues cam "into Egipt, in the time of the greate tyraunt Pharao, whiche per-"secuted the children of Israell. In his daies, the Moores entered "into Egipt, and had broughte the lande vnto vtter ruine, had not "the kyng by gods commaundement, committed his armie vnto "Moses: But after that Gathelus was come, and had wonne a bat-"tail against the 2 Moores, Moses and his company grewe out of "fauor, and were fain to flee out of Egipt into Iude. Then was "Gathelus made lieuetenaunt of Pharaos army, and for his valeaunt "seruice, obteined Scota the Kynges sister in mariage, with all the "landes lately taken from the people of Israell. After the deathe of "this Pharao, reigned his sonne Bocheris, whiche oppressed Gods "people with more tyranny, then his father did. But after y' God "had sent greate plagues emong the Egipcians, Gathelus vnderstand-"yng by the prophetes, that greater were like to folowe, for sooke "Egipte, & in the yere of the creacion of the world .iii. M .vj. C "xliij: He with Scota his wife "their children & seruauntes, Grekes "and Egipcians, came out of the mouthe of Nilus, and passyng by "the sea, called Mediterraneum, toke land in Numidie, and after, he "arrived into a part of Spayne, then called, Lusitania, whiche be-"cause of his arrival there, had the name of Portyngale, as one "would saie, the porte of Gathele."

This is a greate stomble at the thressholde of the dore: for it is plain by histories, that Lusitania, was not called Portyngale, almost by a M. yeres, after this supposed tyme. But for the better triall, let vs examine the circumstaunces of the persone, time and place. And for the persone, we will admit Gathelus to 'be the kyng of Athens sonne, although no suche name is found in the Greke histories, and wee will admitte Pharao to haue a doughter, thoughe no historie, Greke or Egipt, mencion of any suche. But when wee haue admitted the persons, al the doubt is, how we shall couple them in mariage. For accomptyng the tyme of Pharaos reigne, father of Scota, after y' Hebrues, then was she in the yere of the creacion of the worlde, twoo thousand foure hundred yeres; and by our histories, Gathelus was in the yere of the creacion of the world three thousand sixe hundred fortie and three: whiche is differente, twelfe

hundred yeres and more.

<sup>5</sup>This beinge true, here were a very vnfitte mariage betwene these

¹e ii ²e ii, back ²e iii ⁴e iij, back ⁵e iiii

twoo persones, the Bride beinge elder then y° Bridegrome,¹ by xii. C. and .xl. yeres. But some wiseman will saye, y⁺ folke liued long in those daies, yet can thei not denye, but she was to olde a mayde for so yonge a bachelar, whereby I can worse beleue, that they had any children, she beinge of suche yeares. So that to make this mariage frame, either Gathelus was elder than his father, or she was yonger than her brother by a thousande yeares at the leaste. And syns the tyme of Abraham, men by course of nature, have not commonlie lyued much aboue a .C. yeares. And this is over plaine ² to be excused, as a faulte of the writer, seing the whole course of our historie, dependeth vpon y° tyme. If she then coulde be doughter to none of the Pharsoes, no more coulde he be sonne to any of the

kynges of Athens.

And in the tyme that Gathelus liued, which is alledged to be in the yeare of the worlde .iii. M vi. C. xliii. there were no kinges in Athens, but it was gouerned by certayne Rulers, as a free estate. If this then be false in the originall, we muste judge in the sequele, which is of their comming into Spaine, and of their sonne Hyber afterwardes into Irelande, of whome it is called Hybernia, with all the processe of the historie, no less vnlikelie. For if either the Spanyardes inhabitinge Galicia, or the Irishe men that now be, had comme of Grekes or Egyptians, then of likelyhode, some parte of their speache or language, should remain there. The vocables & soundes of which tongues, be asmuch differente in sounde, as the voices of men, and the noise of dogges. But seinge this priviledge hath been geuen vnto antiquitie, that to make their fame moore highe and honorable, they myghte referre their beginnings to the Goddes: and thoughe the same were more like Poetes fableis then syncere histories, yet to be taken for true: Soo woulde not I trauaile so muche in disprofe of these trifles, but because 'I se, that as thei were at the first invented for division by new diversitie of names, so thei be continued at this daie for like purposes. Suche practises have bene vsed in Italie, betweene Guelfes and Gibilines. and in Hollande betwene Hukeis and Cabellawes, and otherwhere by newe founde names, invented by the chyldren of perdicion, to set vs at division, even as they, by diversitie of sectes & names are divided from the vnitie of Christes religion. I nede not to name them, for those companions, be well enough knowne by their coates and hodes, whome as I do not reproue of hatered to their persones, no moore do I impugne their histories for enuy at oure \*nacion, whose honor if I should not earnestly seke, I mought be compted moste vnnaturall, but that I se what sedicion is sowen by ouer much credite vnto their fables and inuencions, which I suppose hath been a greate lette to the concorde, y' all good men desire. For seinge the beginninges of people cannot be certainely knowen, but

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Bridegrome being elder than ye Bride."

\* e iiij, back

\* e v, back

\* e vi

onely vato God, whiche was afore al beginning, it shalbe better to admitte some thinges for true, the contrarye wherof cannot be proued, then to labor in vayne, where ye truth cannot be tried. But this thing which is apparauntelye false, repugnaunte to reason, and not onely against al other histories, but also contrary in it self, yea & lagainste the scripture, founded vpon falsehode, mainteined vpon malice, and sette forthe to the division of two Realmes: I thoughte it no vnprofitable labor, to impugne, lamentinge, that in a Chronicle so exactelie written, & so eloquentelie set furthe, there shoulde wante veritie, the cheife grounde of al historie: whishing vnto the aucthor, asmuch wante of malice & affeccion, as he hath plentie of witte and learninge. An other argument I gather out of the same historie, where it is confessed, yt after the Britaynes inhabiting Scotlande were expulsed by the Pictes, thei with their wifes & children, fledde into Ireland, where thei continewed xlv. yeares together. Duringe 2 which time, by reason of biynge and selling, marriyng, and other trauffique with the Irishe people, their name & toungue was a great part altered & lost. Yet, as our histories shew, the posteritie of those people, comming afterwardes vnto ye possession of their countrey, to kepe in memorie of what kinde thei were come, called them selfes Realbines y' is to saye: Albines again, for a knowledge (as it should seme) aswel of their kindered, as of their restitution & comming againe: which is a better profe to shew vs discended of Albanactus (according to y' English historie) then to saie, y Realbines, is vnderstanded, kinges of Albion (as the translator of Boetius historie interpretethe). <sup>3</sup>As though it wer like, that those fewe, whiche had put foote, but in the smallest and most barrain porcion of the Isle, should call themselfes kinges of Albion, when thei neither came in by conquest ne reigned ouer any people, but occupied a wast part of the land not beynge inhabited, as in the thirde Chapiter of his Chronicle appereth. But how standeth that with reason, that Britayne beyng inhabited by the space of vi. C. veres afore their comvng, suche a countrey shoulds lie desert, and especially vpon the sea costes: Whiche living open to other landes, and sonest sene by theim that saile, muste of likelyhode haue inhabiters, before the inner parte of the countrey. I saie no more, but, Mendacem oportet esse memorem: He that should tell a lye, had nede to have good memory, least his matter appere like a Meremaide, beginning with a woman, and ending with a Fishe, as when the ende of the tale is repugnaunt to the beginning, and the middes agreable to neither of bothe. And doubteles it is no smal masterie to hide a lie: for apparell hym neuer so faire, his ragges will appeare, packe him neuer so close, the bundell will breake, write hym or speake hym, and his aucthor is bewraied, as a Ratte, is by squekyng: And though he bee allowed for a ceason, yet at the ende tyme will trie hym, whereof ensueth greate prejudice to the

<sup>1</sup> e vi. back 2 e vii 3 e vii. back 4 e viii

aulthor: For though he saie afterwardes true, none will beleue

IF I should here entre into declaracion of the righte & title, wherby the kynges of England claime to be superior lordes of Scotland, I should of some be noted, rather a confounder of our liberties and fredomes, then a conservator, (which name I had late). But for somuche as the same is so exactelie set furthe in an Englishe boke put in Printe in the yere of oure Lorde 1542 at the beginninge of these warres, called: "A DECLARATION, conteyning the just causes and consideracions, of this presente warre with the Scottes, wherin alsoo appereth the true 2 and right title, that the kynges most royall maiestie hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande": as nothynge can be sayde more in so fewe woordes, I will referre all indifferent readers to the same booke, thinking it nedelesse to spende any more time, in a matter so well proued: Neuerthelesse I will somewhat touche a point or two, to geue occasion to all suche my contreymen, as minde the honor and quiet of Scotlande, to conferre my saiynges, with our histories, and to judge the matter without affection. Wherof settinge a parte the order deuised by Brutus at the first concerning the division of Brytayne, betwene his sonnes, with the Superioritie supposed in you seldest, and subjection of the other two, pretermitting also the conquest of the whoole Islande by Romaines, and the title deriued frome the greate Constantine: letting passe also the sundry homages and recognicious of subjection, made to Arthur, and other kynges of the Britaynes, and after him to Osbright, and the Saxon Kynges successively, whiche be at large expressed in the Englishe and Briton histories, and affirmed also by Marianus, our countryman, whose aucthoritie is not light, if all these were of no credite, (as they must nedes be of great, howe soeuer we esteme them) yet in my iudgement our awn writers, wherin they labor most to impugne the cause of England, do moste aduaunce it: and therfore in thys parte, I will grounde me vpon them. They agre al vpon .xviii. homages & knowledges of subjection and allegiaunce, made by the kynges of Scotland successively, vnto the kinges of Englande, and many of Which homages, though some of them, them within late memorie. either following their phantaseis, or fearing to offende our kynges, alledge to have been done, somewhiles for Cumberland & somewhiles for the Erledome of Huntingdon: Yet the time considered, they declare, that such actes were doone by oure kynges, afore any of the sayde Erledomes were in their possession, wherby they 5 must be vnderstanden absolutely done, for the realme of Scotlande, and in that points I referre you vnto the readings of Marianus: And of latter dayes, synce that those Erledomes were taken from vs by Englishmen emong other, kynge Iames the first, did homage, to kyng Henry the fourthe of Englande. The woordes and fourme of whose homage, who so liste to peruse, shall well perceive the same

<sup>&#</sup>x27;e viij, back <sup>2</sup> f i <sup>3</sup> f i, back <sup>4</sup> f ii <sup>5</sup> f ii, back COMPLAYNT. 15

to have been made, neither for any of those Erledomes, neither yet for any other holde, but merely, for the crowne of Scotlande, whiche as wel he as other, knowledged to hold of ye king of Englande, as superior lorde, The recordes remaine, the seales & sublscriptions be so many, so auncient, and so faire, as cannot lightelie be counterfaicte. But some peraduenture will say, that many of those homages were done by force and compulsion: I aunswere, thoughe it might be, that some of their were soo done, yet all could not be. Cronicles specifie yt those .xviii. kinges were in Englande, whiche no man can judge to have come all thither by force, and all those dyd homage there, and those homages, well nere all, appere to haue been made for the croune of Scotlande, if we beleue the recordes of Englande. And if any saye, that they be counterfeited, I thinke it soner said, then proued. And touching the compulsion & force, I saye, thoughe some of our kynges might be compelled by feare, yet howe coulde all be: or coulde an whole Parliament be compelled? Is it not manifest, that when question arose, vpon the title of the croune of Scotlande, between Balliol, Brus, and Hastynges, was it not decided by Edward the fyrst, kinge of Englande, as competent iudge in that case ! But here it is sayde agayn, that he was iudge in that case, not of righte, but by consente of the parties. Then loke well to the woordes of the compromise, which nameth him superior lord of Scotland. And this was done in Parliamente, by consente of the thre estates, which of likelyhoode could not be all compelled. In which cause, I am partely ashamed, of the impudent vanitie of our writers, whiche raile without reason agaynst the judgement of Edward in that plea, as corrupte & false. This I saie, that if the Iudgement were to be geuen agayne, neither Mynos, Lycurgus, nor Salomon, (whose iudgements in histories be so celebrate) dyd euer geue a more true, a more perfect or a more rightfull sentence, either by the civile lawes, or by yo practise and custome of Scotlande, or any other reasonable lawe, and take the case, eucuas they propone it. But then we have an other eussion, which is to alledge prescripcion, because those homages have not been done within To that I aunswere, that thoughe prescripcion serued in that case, (as it doth not) yet the warres made from tyme to tyme, countervaile a possession thereof: In whiche pointe lette vs be well aduised, what we saye, leaste by fleynge the smoke, we fall into the fyre. For once admittinge hym superiour kynge, no prescripcion wil serue agaynst hym. The texte is common, and no more common, then allowed, almoste in all lawes. Nullum tempus occurrit Regi: Time cannot prejudice a Kyng.

Moreover, I note this, that the Kynges of Englande would neuer make peace with vs perpetually, neither as lawfull enemies, but admitted a <sup>5</sup> truce, or an intermission of warr for a tyme, alwaies exceptyng, *Lorne* and *Lundie*, and with a caution to saue their title

fiii fiii, back fiiii fiiii, back fv.

and right. Our awne Recordes and registers approve this: howbeit let no man judge, that myne entent is herin to pleade the cause of Englande, (for that I neither can doo, ne professe to doo) but onely to geue light to suche, as liste to seke, that the matter is not so cleare on our side, as oure writers would have it seme, and therfore, I would y' men should weigh the querell indifferently, and without affeccion, and not to leane more on the one side, then on the other. For the title, which I alledge, is neither deuised vpon phantasie, worne out with lage, introduced by conquest, ne enforced with feare or compulsion: but grounded vpon truth, dooen within memory, wroughte by consente, and agreyng to all iustice, equitie, lawe, pacte and promise, not doen in private, but openly, and not by a few, but by a multitude, vpon a greate deliberacion, and that in parliament: whiche title enduceth no seruitude, but fredome, libertie, concord and quietnesse, and serueth aswell for Scotlande, as

Englande, makyng equalitie without superioritie.

At the parliament holden at Edinbrough (immediatly after the death of our last kyng) wher al the lordes, thother states and orders of our realme wer assem<sup>2</sup>bled (sauing the Erle of Arguyle that appered there by his proctor, sir Jhon Cammell): The mariage betwene our Princes, and the kynges maiestie of England, kyng Edward the VI. (then beyng prince) was fully concluded by aucthoritie of thesame Parliament, al thassentes of the said states and Orders, concurryng therunto. The whiche, for more faithe & testimony of the thyng, was also confirmed by writing, vnder the greate seale of Scotlande. Maie there be any thyng of greater aucthoritie, force, or euidence, any title more righteous, then this? graunted, not by our auncestors, but by our selfes, and to a prince now liuyng, not in tyme oute of mynde, but seuen now these so few yers freshely paste, not rashely, or sodainly, but by greate and deliberate aduisement, and thesame not of a fewe, but of all the states of the realme, assembled not at al adventures, but solempnely in parliament: a thing no doubt, instilled from the almightie, and thesame our moste merciful god, into the mindes of ye workers thereof, to have set an end to al the discord of bothe realmes, by that vnion and knot of mariage. And what madnes or deuill (O moste dere countremen) hath so moued, or rather distracte our myndes, eftsones to take weapon in hand, and thesame against oure promises, fidelities, honoures, and othes, hauyng on oure side, no good 4ground, honestie, reason, ne any juste respecte, but onely of the prouocation of the deuil, the pope, and his rable of religious men (as thei would seme to be) & specially those, whom we cal our auncient frendes, where thei are in deede our auncient enemies, ye Frenchemen. And when we shall have well considered, this attonement with Englande, & compared the same, with the league of Fraunce, and well weighed thententes & endes of bothe, we shall

<sup>2</sup> f vi 1 f v. back 3 f vi. back 4 f vii

perceive yt the one calleth vs to an everlasting peace & quietnes, and the other hath, and w[i]ll kepe vs (if wee forsake it not in tyme) in continual miserie and warres. And that male we easily judge, in repeting from the beginning the causes of the one, and of the other. The Frenchmen, fearyng more and more ye power of Englande, whiche had so many tymes dooen theim so notable displeasures, as not onely to have wonne of them sundry battailes (wherof for briefnes sake, I reporte me to the stories) but also, for that the Englishemen, haue (as ye knowe) these many yeres, kepte foote and possession of ground in Fraunce, did besides and emong many other thynges, deuise this one, as a chief staye for theim, to make vs of their faccion against Englande, thinkyng therby at all tymes, when either for just causes, Englande should have to do with theim, or thei with Englande, wee should 2set on the backes of the Englishmen, or otherwise anoye theim, either to force them to withdrawe their armie out of Fraunce, or els bee constreined for resistence, or inuasions, to divide their power, and so to be the weaker: euen as it hath come to passe, that the Englishemen, haue so been forced to doo, when neuerthelesse, it hath redounded to no lesse discomfiture of our nacion, then of the Frenchemen, their principall enemies. An euident proife and triall whereof, (partely because thynges of farther tyme and memorie, hauyng been so many and so often, nede not therin to be narrowly sought for, and partly because this example, beyng freashest in mynd, maie, if it splease God, worke moste best effect) did right well appere, in the first voyage of Kyng Henry the VIII. a Prince of mooste worthy & famous memorie, against Fraunce, when we inuaded England, to have hyndered his enterprise, and doen there some displeasure, if wee had might, supposyng to have founde at home, but shepherdes, priestes and women. At one time we lost the feld & our kyng, (beyng otherwise a noble Prince and a valeaunte Knight) besides an infinite numbre of our countreimen, few of ye Englishe part wantyng, & kyng Henry, at the very self same time wonne the battaill in Fraunce, at the iorney of the spurres: and besides that, wonne also by plain conquest, Turwayn and Turney. Now, when wee shall have bothe considered our league with the Frenchemen, and all the successes, that have chaunced to vs syns the conclusion of thesame, we cannot recken how to aduaunt vs of any one thyng wee haue wonne, but of infinite losses, misfortunes, slaughters, spoyles, and vtter ruyne, come thereby to vs and our countrey vniuersal. The honor and profite, if any be, commeth onely to the Frenchemen, whiche serue theimselfes of vs for their money: for thinordinate gain wherof, we do alwaies hazard our honoures, lifes, and countrey, and haue lost our frendes, naye, rather beeyng a membre of the selfe body with Englande, haue suffered our self to be divorced & torne from the same, and have so far passed our awne reason, that we have in y' behalf, attempted to do hurte to

<sup>1</sup> f vii, back 2 f viii 3 f viii, back 4 g j 5 g j, back

a part of our awnselfes, if Gods goodnes towardes Englande, had not so prouided, that our power could not bee hable to aunswer, to our misaduised willes: And so farre did we estraunge our selfes, that wee could finde in our hartes to become seruile, and to bee as common hirelynges, to a forrein nacion. For what other thing do we but serue theim for their money, to our awne vtter destruccions, to y' spillyng of our awne bloud to the burnyng of oure tounes, and to the waste and spoyle of our whole native countrey? And at this, do the Frenchmen laugh; thei take pleasure, sittyng at home in securitie, excepte peraduenture thei sende a few of their cast souldiors, of whom their make lesse accoumptes or estimacion, then of so many shepe or hogges: Howbeit, to bring vs in belefe, that we bee in some parte of estimacion with theim, thei make of our nacion, certain chief presidentes in Fraunce, & the kyng hath of vs., a certain numbre in his garde, for the defence of his persone, in whom. howe litle he trusteth, God knoweth, and daily experience teacheth. By this he maketh vs silly soules beleue, that he hath vs in singuler trust, when in deede it is but a golden and glisteryng bayte, alluryng our simplicitie and credulitie, to that Iron hoke, that hath caught and killed afore now, the moste 2 parte of our auncestors, & now of late, no fewer of oure fathers, of our children, and of our kinsfolke; while the Frenche lose not a man, but a fewe golden crounes. And yet our presidentes for al the honor & aucthoritie, that thei be set in, doo serue but as Cyphers in Algorisme, to fill the place, and in stede of Jupiters blocke, sent to rule the Frogges, whereupon their treade and leape, withoute feare & daunger. And our countreymen of the gard, after many yeres, worne in Fraunce, haue this onely rewarde at length, to bee called of all the worlde, in mockery, Iehan Yet is there one thyng, wherein wee repose a certain honor, and yet in deede, is thesame one of the most dishonors, that euer we received \*whiche was when at thentre of a league, with Charles y' greate Kynge of Fraunce, wee received for an encrease of. the Armes of our realme, a trace of flour de luces, not considering how shamefull and dishonorable it was to vs, being so noble a \*people, to deface our auncient Armes, and receive the note and token of nobilitie and worthines, of straungers: On thother part, how honorable a thyng, this attonement with Englande, were for vs. the blynd man maie se. For beeyng then (as algates we must be vnder some one) bothe vnder one kyng, the more large and ample the Empire wer: the more honorable and glorious: the kyng of greater dominion, gouernaunce power, and fame: and the subjectes more renoumed, more happy and more quiet: the realme more sure, and formidable to the enemies: and thei lesse eshuned and feared.

Thus beyng bothe our people and forces ioned in one, we should be the more puyssaunt to inuade, more strong to resist and defende. And our power beeyng suche & so great, should be an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> g ij <sup>2</sup> g ij, back <sup>3</sup> g iii <sup>4</sup> pleople <sup>5</sup> g iii, back

occasion (for I wil not now speake of all thynges) to make vs fre & sure from outward inussion wheref (peace beyng first between vs and Englands) should followe peace with all others: In sort, as the laboryng man might safely tille his grounde, and as safely gather in the profites and fruites therof: the marchaunt might withoute feare goo abrode, and bryng in forreine commodities, into the realme: the governours beeyng in tranquillitie, and not havyng their thought and cure divided into many sundery partes, should, with lesse carefulnesse and anxietie of mynde, see to the good ordre of the commonwealth, whiche never so truely florisheth, as in peace : In fine, all murders, robberies, spoyles, slaughters, and desolacions, beyng the sequele, and as it wer, ye children of warre, yea, and warr it self, the Parente of thesame, should cease : in whose places should succede peace, wealthe, quiet ordre, and all other graces and good happes. But if we be so blynd, that we will not see, and deafe, that we will not harken to these holsome admonici2ons, when without the feare of God, and without regard of the common weale, we shall rush still hedlong, into the fury of warre, lette vs recken with our selfes, (whose cause is moste injust and wrongfull) what is to be loked for, towardes vs, at the conquerors handes, seing, that we have refused se honorable, so equall, and so easie, yea, and frendly condicions of peace: specially being called, not into subjection or seruitude, but into one societie and feloweship with Englishemen, and yt, by so honorable a meane, as the mariage of our Princes, with the kinges majestie of Englande, a Prince of so greate towardnes, honor, and expectacion, bothe for yt he is descended of such parentes, and also, for yt those verstues bee all ready in hym, as the like were perchaunce, in no one prince afore: So as we may surely hope and promise to our selfes, more at his majestics hand, then peraduenture Then, what should wee were lawfull to looke for, of a mortall man. feare at the handes of such a Prince having maried our natural quene but all grace, clemencie, and benignitie, as well for her graces sake, whom he shall have maried, as also for those vertues, which be to his Maiestie naturall and propre. Moreover, what other thyng is to be loked for at y handes of the succession of them both, which shall take as well parte of her grace, as of his Maiestie, then al gentle and louing treatment and prerogatyue, seying from 4thesame we shal no more be straungers vnto that nacion, but as nye and as dere, as the self Englishmen. And so muche the rather, when those hatefull termes of Scottes & Englishemen, shalbe abolisshed and blotted oute for euer, and that we shal al agre in the onely title and name of Britons (as verely we ought to do) and the selfe realme. beeyng eftsones reduced into the fourme of one sole Monarchie, shalbee called Britayn: Then the which forme, there is none other better nor no common weale so well gouerned as y same is, that is ruled by one kyng. The experience wherof we have seen, even from

<sup>1</sup> g iiii 2 g iiii, back 3 g v 4 g v, back

the beginning of the worlde, continually to our time. For who so shall well consider the states of 'all commone weales, that have been gouerned by mo then one, shal perceive that the same hath been y' cause of their finall ruine & extermin[ac]ion. For gouernaunce maye in no wyse suffer an equal companyon, ne any more be divided into the rule of twoo sundrie administers, then one bodye maye beare two heades, or the worlde endure to have twoo sunnes to geue lighte at once. And that same appereth in all other creatures, emonge whom, there is any societie, or body politique, wherby it may easily be gathered to be the primative decre, and the due ordre of nature. Whiche, like as in many other thynges, so doth it specially appere in the swarme of Bees; for thei beyng ledde with the onely 2 and mere instinct of nature, will neither bee without one Kyng and gouernor, ne yet admit any mo kynges, then one at once; And by the same nature, bee wee taught, to repute and recken that body to be monstreous, that hath twoo heddes, and no lesse is the realme, that hath twoo kynges. Then if in all thinges we shuld (as nigh as might be) approche to the likenesse of heauen, as well in our lifes and actes, as in all our fashions, wee should not allowe the regiment of many, for that the heavenly thynges have but one gouernor, whiche thyng Homere (though he were but an Heathen poete) semeth to expresse in these verses.

> To have mani governors is not good But let there bee one ruler of Kynges <sup>3</sup> and one Kyng.

SVRELY, the aunswer of Cerbane Lydyane, wherof Serinus maketh mencion in his commentaries, was of no small grauitie & importance. For when Crossus would have ioyned his brother with hym in the kyngdome: the sonne (saied he) is aucthor of all good thynges in the yearth, but if there should bee twoo sonnes, it wer perill least their two heates should burne vp al the arth: Euen so, as one kyng is necessarie, so mo then one is hurtfull. experience wherof, (to fette examples no farther of) was wel felt in Englande, so long as the seuen Kynges reigned, as maie well appere to theim that reade the story. Herefore dare I boldly saie, if these twoo realmes wer brought vnder one Empire and gouernaunce, wee should see an ende of al strief and warre, whiche will neuer come otherwise to passe: And then should wee haue this common weale of ours, beyng now out of all ordre, and in moste miserable state & condicion to bee moste happie and mooste florishing. The whiche thyng to attein, it lieth onely in you (O moste dere countreymen): yours is the faulte, you must make the amendes. And other condicions of recompense, then your selfes have agreed vnto, wil vndoubtedly none bee allowed. For what other condicions should Englande receive of vs, (having had so often experience of oure breaches of peace, of truce, and of our promises, which yet vnto 5 this daie, we have never truely kept towardes them, as thei maye

<sup>1</sup> g vi 2 g vi, back 3 g vii 4 g vii, back 5 g viii

in no reason truste vs.) but in suche sorte, as they maie be assured to fynd vs constaunt, firme and stedfaste in oure promisse. Wherfore, if there remayn with you (O dere countreymen) any remorce or pitie of our torne and woful countrey, or of your selfes, staye betymes, while you have tyme to do well. Recken, yt though ye have offended, it is better betymes to refourme the thyng, whiche, by reason of sinistre and suill counsaill, hath been suill doen, then to stands obstinately in your most wicked and deuclish enterprise, beyng viterly contrary to your faithefull promise, to your honors, & also to righte and dusty; that if your awn particular respectes, doo not moue you, yet have mercy voon youre commune countrey, youre countrey weepings to you with bloody teares, which your selfes do expresse, and wring out of her, and enforce her to shed. And surely in this part, I would wyshe asmuch eloquence, as I have good will to set out this woofull tragedy in her perfect colours: but seynge the same doeth not serue to my wyshe, Imuste vtter such matter, as the dolor of my hart, and natural pitie, may minister vnto my penne, whiche if it could as lively depaynt the greatnes of this cuill, as myne harte doth Imagine and conceive the same, the multitude of teares shoulds let mens iyes from readyng, and extremitie of affections disturbe their myndes from conceining. Imagine you (I praye you) if Britayne coulde speake, mighte she not well save thus: Hath not the almighty providence severed me from the reste of the worlds, with a large sea, to make me one Islande? hath not natures ordinaunce furnished me with asmany thinges necessary, as any one ground bringeth furth? hath not mans pollicie at the beginning subdued me to one governoure! And hath not the grace of Christ illumined me ouer all, with one faith: and finally the workes of all these foure, tended to make me one? Why then wil you divide me in two? What foly, yea, or rather what contempt of God is this, y' ye still teare me, pull me, & ryue ame in peces? were their euer children so vnnaturall (if they were not of the vipers nature) to rend their mothers wombe? yea, were there euer beastes so saluage, or cruel, to devour the dame! If birdes, beastes, and all thinges naturall haue this reason, not to destroy their kynde, how chaunceth it then, that you beyng men endewed with reason, bredde in one lande, joyned in one faithe, shouldthus vnkindly, vnnaturally, and vnchristenly, bathe youre swoordes in eche others blode? May not the example of other landes teache you to beware of division, to hate all discorde, to abhorre intestine warre? May not the ruine of y' Grekes, the falle of the Romaynes, and the subuersion of soo many countreys, common weales, and states in the worlde, suffyce for your ensample? yea, may not the present sighte of my ruyne and decay, teache you to take heede? If the counsailes of wyse men, experience of other countreys, nor ye pytie of me your mother, your nutryce, and your bringer vp, do not moue you: Yet at the least,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> g viii, back <sup>2</sup> h j <sup>3</sup> h j, back <sup>4</sup> h ii

haue and vse some mercye towardes your selfes. Haue you not shedd enough of your awne blodde? what folye, or rather what fury is this, thus to ruynate your selfes, and to denoure one an other, to the discomforte of me, and pleasure of your enemyes? If ye woulde set before your eyes, the exceding quantitie of blodd, that hath been shed betwene you my ingrate & moste 1 vnnatural children: you would judge it sufficiente, & more then enoughe, not onely to conquere Europe, but euen ye whole world. And to what vtilitie hathe all thys been spent; surely to none other, then to the mischief & destruccion of eche other, emonge youre selfes. Oh incomparable losse for so litle gaine. I was neuer yet inuaded by forreine enemyes, but some of my chyldren were the chief ayders, and onely causers therof: nor no mischiefe procured against me at this day, but by their consent and counsail. Oh I an vnhappy mother of suche children: how longe shall these furies leade you? how longe will you that my wyde fyeldes lye wasted, that my townes be desert and vnpeopled, that my 2 fayre houses and Castels be spoiled and burnt, & my people famished! I cannot accuse Romaynes, Pictes, ne yet Normanis, but myne awne rebellious, discordant and graceles children. O hateful discord, no where doest thou begyn, but all goeth to wrecke, ere thou makest an end. O privy poyson, O familiar foo, O dissembling traitor, O couerte pestilence: what coulde Casar haue preuailed agaynst me, if Mandrubatius a Britayne, had not bene divided from Cassibolan my king? Wil this fire never be quenched? this malice neuer cease, nor your furye neuer ende? If it be geuen you of nature, if you sucke it with your mothers mylke, if it growe in you with yeares, to hungre, strife, & warre? here this my coun-Afore you make warre at home, seke your enemies abrode. Pursue their lifes, shedde their bloode, be wroken vpon them, kyl them, & ouercome them, & when thei be all killed, ouercome and subdued, then turns the swoordes point against eche other, but not afore: and then shall you never soo doo, for you never yet to this daie, haue wanted enemies. But to returne to you again my countremen, whom, for ye natural loue, I beare to you, I cannot leaue to blame for your folyes, or rather madnes, & exhorte you to this moste honorable, most godly and profitable attonement with Englande, who wynkynge at our transgressions, bearynge with our peruerse waiwardenes & pardoning our to much ingratitude hitherto. doth to her vtter moste strength & power, seke with al possible gentlenes, to reconcile vs, & with all her endeuoure continually laboureth to make vs partakers of her concorde and vnitie, her tranquilite & quiet, her wealth & luckey fortune, her conquestes & triumphes: & finallie of all her incomparable ioyes & felicities. shal lastely beseche and exhorte, and (as farre as the mothers aucthoritie ouer ye chyldren may) adiure you by God ye very aucthor of all peace, Loue, Charitie, & concorde, to returne into ye

<sup>1</sup> h ij, back 2 h iij 3 h iij, back 4 h iiij

right waie, out of the whiche, ye have so long gone a straigh. Remember (I besech you, o most dere countremen) how that by this calling of vs into this vnitie, proceding plainly from god him selfe he woulde also vnite & ioyne vs in one religion. For howe godly were it, yt as these two Realmes should grow into one, so should thei also agre in the concorde & vnite of one religion, & the same y' pure, syncere & incorrupt religion of christ, setting a part all fonde supersticions, sophistications, & other thousandes of denilries brought in by the bishop of Rome & his creatures, wherby to gene glosse to their thinges & darknes to Gods true worde, for ye onely purpose, to aduaunce their glory, & treade Gods word vnder fote, to vtter their fylthye merchaundise, & to sclaunder y precious ware & Iewels of y scripture: & emonges y rest, to destroye Gods peace, & ringe their awne alarmes, against his moste glo<sup>2</sup>rious victory on y Crosse, throught the worlde. And I wote not whether firme concorde be otherwise more sureli mortized in mens hartes, then when it procedeth of ye true knowlege of Gods word, which doth in so many passages repete vnto vs, peace, peace: loue, loue: charitie, charitie: & reproueth warre, hatred, & discord, seedes doubtelesse scatered by ye denil, through those monsters of men, that professe preposterous religion, to stirre aswell all others, as also most specially, you my countrymen most of all, to this division & roare, wherin thei (fearinge the worthy fall, wher with God threateneth them, which they now perceive by others examples to hang over their heades) deuise by hooke & by croke to kepe you styl occupied in mistrust of your best frendes, casting before your eyes, mystes, shadowes, & colors (suche as Iuglers vse to doo) to thende, lest if you should once se the clearnes of Gods worde, you should then encline to y' of your selfes, and moost easly, wherunto I do now with so much a do exhorte you. I perceyue that the loue to my country and nacion, hath made me vnawares to have wandred furder, then at the first I purposed: wherfore I wil make an ende, if fyrst I shall repete that I have already proued vnto you, that these twoo Realmes were first a Monarchie vnder Brutus, and soo lefte by hys order to his sonnes, by the superioritie genen to the eldest, which forme of gouernaunce, was also vnder Constantyne. I have also proued, yt these two realmes ought to come vnder yt fourme, & yt kinges Maiestie yt now is, to be Monarch of the same: aswel for the superioritie, which was in his auncestors proued by yo homages & other thinges afore alleged, yo claim wherof did yet neuer cease as also specially by force of your awn late act of parliament, wherby he ought of right to mary our Princesse, thinheritrice of ye crown of Scotlande: by occasion wherof we shalbe received not into seruitude, but into ye same felowship with Englishmen, ye names of both subjectes & realmes ceasing, & to be changed into ye name of Britain & Britons, as it was first, & yet stil ought to be. And how

<sup>1</sup> h lili, back 2 h v 3 h v, back 4 h vi

necessary y' same fourme of the gouer naunce of one Monarche or kinge is, you se to be more clere then the sonne, & the same to be a ready & easy meane, how both tappease al discord, which otherwise wil neuer stint, & also testablish vs in euerlasting peace, quiete & tranquillite: vnto whiche effectes there is verely none other meane. And yo thing selfe (though I should holde my peace) doth sufficiently speake & avouche y same to be a waye vnto both Realmes most honorable, because not only the Empire shal by yt occasion be ye more large & strong in it self, & the King ye more puissant & famous: profitable, for yt discorde shal ceasse, & concord come in place, & thereby the people & common weale florish & prospere: & godly for yt we shal agre all in one, & yo 2 same the true & christen

religion.

It remaineth now to say vnto you, that the right high mightie and excellent prince Edward, duke of Somerset, erle of Hertforde, Viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymour, gouernor of the persone of the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, & protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subjectes his lieuetenaunt general of al his armies, bothe by lande and by sea, Treasorer & Erle Marshal of England, gouernor of ye isles of Gernsey and Jersey, & knight of the moste noble ordre of the garter: A man for his actes and worthinesse, well knowen to the world, & you, of whom you have had late experience to your peines, & his dolour, for that, as the louyng mother, in beatyng her 3childe weepeth, so in punishyng you, he did it lothely, and to his grief, because he pitied your case. said lord protector is comyng towardes you, with a puissaunt & invincible army, having on his side God, & the just cause, and an intent, to receive to mercy grace & fauor, so many of you, as for you furthering of this mariage & his other Godly purposes, wil come in And contrarily, to punish & correct ye rest, yt shal remain in their stubburn & wilful disobedience. Wherfore (o countrymen) considering yt on oure part, we have nothing but the wrong & iniust cause, violacion of our promises & othes, geuen to England with conceived words, after mature & iuste deliberacion, callyng God & his angels, vnto witnes ther of, who knoweth our infidelitie, & will not leave the iniury doen to hym & them, vnreuenged. For the regard of God, for your awn sakes, & for the tendre respecte of our countrey, cast wisely doune yt armour & weapons yt you have so fondely put on & taken in hand: & submit your selfes humbly, to the mercy & clemencie of so noble & benigne a Prince: who is rather come thither, louingly to embrace & receive you, yea, & as your protector, to defend & assist you: then to punish you according to your desertes. But, if you shal despice my counsail & abuse his humanitie & good offers, how gentle & clement soeuer he be of his awn nature, thinke you for sure, y' God, who wil not suffre infidelitie, tescape long inchastised, wil stirre vp 5 hys corage to do

<sup>5</sup> h viii, back 1 h vi. back ² h vii 3 h vij, back 4 h viii

vengeance vpon you for your insolencie and faith broken: ye which I writ, not without sorow & teares: Praing God for his pitie & goodnesse, to geue you his grace & better mynde, so as you may forsake the errors yt now lead you hedlong, and maie follow these good & holsome counsailes, of your most natural, and most tendre louyng countreiman: wherby, you maie accord (as by your promises and dueties, ye ought to do) to so godly, so honorable, and so profitable condicions, as are

now gentelly offered you.

Excussum Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni typis Impressoris.

> Anno salutis nostræ. 1547



O An Epistle
or exhortacion, to
onitie & peace, sent from the
Lorde Protector, & others
the kynges moste honorable counsaill of England:
To the Pobilitie, Gentlemen, and Commons,
and al others the inhabitauntes of
the Realme
of Scotlande.



AN EPISTLE EXHORTATORIE.

'Edward, by the arace of God Buke of Somersett, Trle of Bertforde, Vicount Beauchamp, lorde Beimour, bucle to the konges bighnes of Englande, Conernor of his moste royall persone, and Protector of all his Seulmes, dominions und Subiectes, Fienetennunt generall of all his Mniesties Armies, bothe by lande und sen, Thrensuuror und Grie Marshall of Englande, Conernor of the Isles of Gernesen & Bernen, und Anight of the moste noble ordre of the Gurter, with others the Counsaill of the snied moste high und noble Mrince EDVVARD, by the grace of God of Englande, Fruunce und Freiunde, hong, defender of the faithe, and in yearth buder Christe the supreme hedde of the Churche of Snglande & Arelande: To the nobilitie,

nglance & greiance: Co tge nooth and counsuitors, gentlemen and the commons, and all others the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotland: Gretung and Peace.

YONSIDEryng with our selfes the present state of thynges, & weiging more depelye the maner and termes, wherein we and you do stande: It maketh vs to merneile what euil & fatal chaunce dooth so disseuer youre hartes, & maketh them so blinde and vnmindfull of your profite and to still conciliate and heape to your self mooste extreme mischiefes: the whiche, we (whom you will nedes haue your enemies) go aboute to take awaie from you and perpetually to ease you ther of. And although by all reasone and ordre of necessite, it should bee rather more convenient for you to seke and require moderate agreementes of vs (whom god hath hetherto, accordyng vnto our moste iuste, true, and Godly meanynges and intentes, prospered and set forwarde, with youre affliction and miserie) then that we, beyng superiours in the feld, 3 Masters of a great part of your realme, should seke vpon you: Yet to thintent that our charitable mynde and brotherly loue, should not cease by all meanes possible, to prouoke and cal you to youre awne commoditie and profite, euen as the father to the sonne, or thelder brother would do to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sign. A ij

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A ij, back

yonger brother: And as the louyng Phisicion, would do to the mistrustfull and ignoraunt pacient, we are content to call and crye vpon you, to looke on your state, to anoyde the greate calamitie your Countrey is in: To have vs rather brothers, then enemies, rather Countreymenne, then Conquerours. And if your Gouernor or Capitaines, shall reteigne and kepe from you this oure exhortacion, as heretofore 1 thei have doen our Proclamacion tendyng to the like effecte, for their awne private wealth & commoditie, not regardyng though you bee still in miserie, so they have profite and governaunce ouer you, & shall still abuse you, with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shalbee a witnesse afore God, & all Christian people, betwixte you and vs, that wee professyng the Gospell of Christ according to the doctrine thereof doo not cease to call & prouoke you, from theffusion of your awne blood, from the destruccion of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enemitie and hatred, from the finall eradicacion of your nacion, and from seruitude to foreyne nacions: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs. to 2that whiche your writers hath alwayes wisshed, mighte once come to passe. WHO that hath red thistories of tyme paste, and doth marke and note the greate battailes, fought betwixte Englande and Scotland, thincursions, roades, and spoyles, whiche hath been doen on bothe the parties: The realme of Scotlande five tymes wonne by one kyng of Englande: The Scottishe kynges, some taken prisoners, some slain in battaill, some for very sorowe and discomforte vpon losse, diyng and departing the world: and shall perceive again, that of all nacions in the worlde, that nacion onely beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and wee bee annexed and iowned in one Is lande, so no people so like in maner, forme, language, and all condicions as we are: Shal not he thynke it a thyng verie vnmete, vnnaturall, and vnchristian that there should be betwixte vs so mortall warre, who in respect of al other nacions, be, & should bee, like as twoo brethren of one Islande of greate Britayn? And though he were a straungier to bothe, what would he thynke more mete, then if it wer possible one kyngdome be made in rule, whiche is one in language, and not to be divided in rulers, whiche is all one And for somuche as twoo successions cannot concurre in Countrey. and fal into one, by no maner of other meanes, then by mariage, whereby one bloude, one lignage and paren4tage, is made of twoo, and an indefecible right genen of bothe to one, without the destruccion and abolishing of either: If god should graunt that whatsoeuer you would wish, should be doen what could you wish, other then that, whiche now, not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mercie and moste inscrutable prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath geuen vnto you. The whiche thyng, that you should also thinke to come of his disposicion, and not by blynd fortune how vnlikely hath it been, & how sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed: Your last Kyng beyng a Prince of muche excel-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A ii, back <sup>2</sup> A iiij <sup>3</sup> A iiij, back <sup>4</sup> A v

lencie and young, (whom you know, after a promise broken contrary to his honour: <sup>1</sup>And a misfortune by iust iudgement of GOD folowyng vpon it, GOD either by sorowe, or by some other wise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you) had three children. Did not almightie GOD, as it were to shewe his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and ennemitie, of bothe the nacions should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall lone and amitie, take the two men children of those babies, beyng distaunt the one from the other, and in diverse places, bothe as it were at one tyme, and within the space of xxiiij. houres, leavyng but one

mayden child and Princesse ?

When the moste wise and victorious Prince, late our Kyng and Master, kyng Henry theight 2 in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawful and moste verteous wife Quene Jane, his other two wifes before that mariage departed this worlde, and never surmise nor question made of that mariage, sithe that tyme to this daie, nor so muche as all her lyfe tyme, name or motion, to, or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expectacion, of so greate giftes of God, the right & vndoubted heire of the Realme of England, and his maiestie, onely of male issue, left behynd hym to succede the imperial Croune: If nothyng els had been dooen, what can any wise or any Christian manne, that thynketh the worlde to be gouerned by Gods prouidence, and not by fortune, thinke otherwise, but that it was Gods pleasure it should bee so, that these twoo realmes should iowne in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament, make a Godly, perpetuall, and moste frendly vnitie and concord. wherby suche benefites, as of vnitie and concord commeth, may through his infinite grace, come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you, or of any other nacion doubteth hereof, excepte that vou loke for miracles to bee doen herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the twoo princes, the children alredy had, the doubtfull chaunce, least eche of their should haue a sonne, or bothe doughters, or not of mete ages, with other circumstaunces both of the partie of this realme of Englande, and that of Scotland, whiche hath not chaunced in eight hundred yeres, it muste nedes bee reconed a greate meruaill and a miracle. But lette it bee no miracle, seyng that God dooth not now speake in oracles as emonges the Jewes he did: And present Prophesies nowe a daies, bee but either not certain, or els not playne: What more certaintie can bee had of Gods will in this case, then the before rehersed dooeth bryng? But if GOD hymself should speake, what could he speake more then he speaketh in these? Call you them providences or chaunces? you bee stil afflicted and punished, maie he not saie: I of my infinite mercie & loue to your nacion, had prouided a Prince to 5 the one, and a Princesse to the other, to bee loyned in my holy Lawes, and by the Lawe of nature, and the worlde, to have made an vnitie, concorde, and peace, in the whole Isle of bothe the realmes: you ³ [A vj, back] ' [A vii] ' [A vii], back Av. back ¹ [A vi]

refused it, you loued better dissencion then vnitie, discorde then agremente, warre then peace, hatered then Loue and Charitie. you doo then therfore smart for it, whom can you blame, but youre awne election? BVT because some of those, who maketh hereto impedimentes, who cannot but confesse, that there appereth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion geuen, to vnite both the realmes: yet may here after saie, and heretofore hath saied, that the faulte herein is, 1 that wee seke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conquest, wee would not be frendes, but be lordes. Although our Proclamacions at the laste warres, dooeth enough declare the contrary, yet here wee proteste and declare to you, and all Christian people, to be the kynges Maiesties mynd, our Masters. by our aduise and counsaill, not to conquer, but to have in amitie, not to wynne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kil, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and dinorce, but to ioyne in mariage from high to low, bothe the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace, and Charitie. if you refuse, and drive vs to conquere, who is giltie of the blood 2 shed? Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh the battailes, the brennyng of houses, and the deuastacion whiche shall followe? Can it be demed, but that we have the great seale of Scotlande, graunted by the Parliament of Scotlande, for the mariage whiche should bee made, with assuraunces and pledges, vntil the performance? And this in the tyme that the late kyng of moste famous memorie, our souereigne Lorde kyng Henry the eight did reigne and in the tyme of the same your Gouernor, who now is the erle of Arreigne, who then beyng a chief dooer and laborer therein, for the high & inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinall of S. Andrews and o'thers, with certain vain feares & hopes, and gredines of dignitie peruerted, revolted from his first agreemnt, and put all the realme to the losse of suche holdes and fortresses, as be now taken from you: and to the losse of a foughten feld, for the which we are sory, if otherwise peace could haue been concluded, for his awne private lucre, & rechelesnes of that noble Realme. And what ende canne you loke of this maner of procedynges, but suche successe as heretofore hath been experimented and assaied: we offre loue, we offer equalitie & amitie, we ouercome in war, and offer peace, wee wynne holdes, and offre no conquest, we gette in your lande and offre Englande: What can be more offered and more profe<sup>4</sup>red, then entercourse of merchaundises, enterchaunge of mariages the abholishyng of all suche our lawes, as prohibiteth thesame, or might bee impediment to the mutuall amitie. We have offerd not onely to leave thaucthoritie, name, title, right, or chalenge of conquerours: but to receive that whiche is the shame of men ouercomed, to leave the name of the nacion, and the glory of any victorie if any wee haue had, or should haue of you, and to take the indifferent old name of Britaynes again, because nothyng should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [A viij] <sup>2</sup> [A viij, back] <sup>2</sup> B j, back COMPLAYNT. <sup>16</sup>

he left, or our part vnoffered, nothyng of your part vnrefused, whereby you might bee inexcusable: And all the worlde might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thyng, lafter many other waies and remedies attempted: Battaill of vs to be taken, as an extreme refuge, to atteigne righte and reason, emonges Christian men. IF any man maie rightfully make battaill, for his espouse and wife: the daughter of Scotland, was by the greate seale of Scotland, promised to the sonne and heire of Englande. If it bee lawfull by Gods Lawe, to fighte in a good querell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, whiche to confirme, wee shall fighte, and you to breake, is it not easie to decerne who hath the better parte? GOD and the sworde, hath all 1. and shall hereafter, if there bee no remedie 2trie it. Who so . eth the mariage to goo forwarde, who myndeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes, who willeth no conquest to bee had, but amitie and loue to bee established betwixte vs, wee refuse no manne: let hym bryng his name, and his pledge of good service in this querell, he shal not onely be received to ye amitie, but shal have sufficient defence agaynste the aduersaries : WE neither do nor intend, to put any man from his takkes or offices, onlesse he will needes resist, & so compell vs thereunto, what face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your Quene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. What greater honor can you seke vnto your Quene, then 3 the mariage offred ? What more meter mariage then this, with the kynges highnes of England? What more sure defence, in the noneage of your Quene, for the Realme of Scotlande, then to have England patron and garrison? We seke not to take from you youre lawes nor customes: But we seke to redresse your oppressions, whiche of diuerse, you do sustein. IN the realme of England, diverse lawes and customes be, according to the auncient veage of the parties thereof. And likewise in Fraunce, Normandy, and Gascoigne, hath sundery kynd of ordres: Hath al the realmes and dominions whiche the Emperor now hath, one and one sorte of lawes? These vain feares and phantasies, of expulsion of your nacion, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, bee driven into your heddes, of those who in deede, had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, & slain, then thei would lose any poynte of their will, of their desire of rule, of their existimacion, which thei knowe in quietnes would bee sene what it wer, as it were in a calme water. Now in this tumulte of discord when the realme is tossed vp and doune, with waves and sourges of battaill, famyne, & other mischief, whiche the warr bringeth, thei thynke thei cannot be espied. But looke on them, you that have wit and prudence, and consider the state of your Quene and realme: YOV wil not kepe her sole and vnmaried, the whiche were 5 to you greate dishonour. If you mary her within the realme, that cannot extynguish the title which we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B ij <sup>2</sup> B ij, back <sup>2</sup> B iij <sup>4</sup> B iij, back <sup>5</sup> B iiij

haue to the Croune of Scotlande: and what dissencion, enuic. grudge, and malice, that shall brede emonges you, it is easy to perceiue. You will mary her out of the Realme: our title remayneth, you be subjectes to a forein Prince of other Countrey, another language: and vs ye haue youre enemies, euen at your elbowe, your succours farre of from you. And be we not in ye bowels now of the realme? Haue we not a greate parte thereof either in subjection, or in amitie and loue? Who shall come into your Realme, but he shalbee mette with, and fought with, if nede be, euen of youre awne nacion, who bee 'faithefull & true to the realme of England, in y' way of this moste Godly vnion by mariage. And if any forein power, Prince or potentate, whosever be your aider, to norishe still discord, sende you an armie also: how shall thei oppresse you, fill your houses, wast your groundes, spende and consume your vitaill, holde you in subjection, and regarde you as slaves, which without them could not live, take your Quene to bestowe as thei list, and leaue your realme, especially if their Kyng or ruler (as perchaunce he maye be) in other warres, be otherwise occupied, to be a pray to vs & a true conquest. Then it shalbe to late to saie, we will have a mariage and no conquest, wee wishe peace and amitie, we are wery of <sup>2</sup> battaill and miserie. The stubborne ouercomed must suffre the victours pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victory more insolent, whereof you your selfe have geven the cause. If thei send money and Capitaines, but no Souldiers: First if thei be Capitaines, who ruleth & who dooth obeye, who shall have the honor of the enterprise, if it bee well achieved? But whether it bee well achieued or no, whiche numbre is that, that shalbee slain, whose bloodde shalbe shed? Their money peraduenture shalbe consumed, and their commaundementes obeyed: But whose bodies shall smarte for it? Whose landes shalbee wasted? Whose houses burned? What realme made desolate? Remembre what it is to shaue a forein power within you, a strong power of your enemies vpon you, you as it were the campe and plain, betwixt them to fight on, and to be troden vpon, bothe of the victor and the ouercomed. imagine you se before your iyes, your wifes and daughters in daungier of the wantonnesse and insolencie of the souldiours, the proude lookes of the Capitaines and souldiours, whom you cal to helpe you, the contempt you shall bryng your nacion in: And then take hede lest in deede that follow, whiche you feare, that is that you shalbe by them conquered, that you shalbe by them put from your holdes, landes, tackes, and offices: that youre lawes by them shalbe altered: That your nacion shalbe by them destroyed. 4Consider in this realme: Did not the Britaynes call in the Saxons for helpe, and by theim wer put out? Where bee the Pictes, once a great nacion betwixt you and vs? Howe did the nacion of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce? Howe gotte the Turke first all Grecia, and now a late Hungarie, but beyng called in for to aide and helpe?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> B iiij, back <sup>2</sup> B v <sup>3</sup> B v, back <sup>4</sup> [B vi]

And did not the Gothes by like meanes get all Italie? And the Lombardes one part thereof, now called Lombardy ! What loke you for more! Nedy souldiours and hauyng the weapons in their handes, and knowing that you cannot live without them, what wil thei not commaunde you to do? What wil thei not encroche vpon you? What will thei not thynke thei 1 maie dooe? And what will thei thinks that you dare doo? This forein helps is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victory so had, is your seruitude, what is then to be thought of losse taken with theim? The straungers and forein souldiours shall oppresse you within, oure power & strength without: And of youre awne nacion, so many as loueth quietnes, Godlines, and the wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflicte you. Is it not better to compose & acquiete al this calamitie and trouble by mariage? To ende al sorowes and battailes, by suche and so honorable a peace? How hath the Emperous Spayne and Burgondy, not by title of mariage ? Howe holdeth 2the Frenche king Briteigne, now lately adnexed to that Croune, not by title of mariage? Howe hath al the greate princes of the worlde happely, and with quiete made of two kyngdomes one, of diverse lordshippes one? of nacions alwaies at warre with them self, or els in doubtful peace, one well gouerned Kyngdome, rule and dominion, but by that most Godly, moste quiete, moste amicable composicion of mariage! Two meanes ther is of makyng one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfite agrement betwixt twoo nacions: Either by force & superioritie whiche is conquest, or by equalitie & loue, whiche is parentage and mariyng: ye hate the one, that is conquest, and by refusyng the other, you enforce it vpon you: you wil not have peace, you will not have aliaunce, you will not have concorde: and conquest commeth vpon you whether you will or no: And yet if all thynges were considered, wee feare it will appere, that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, then succoured of straungiers, lesse losse to your gooddes, lesse hurte to youre lande, lesse dishonor to your realme: This nacion which is one in tongue, one in Countrey and birthe, hauyng so litle diuersitie to occupie yo whole, then other powers to come into you, neither like in language ne yet like in behauior, who should rule ouer you, and take you to be but their But we eftesones and finally declare, and protest vnto 4you. that although for the better furtheraunce of this godly purpose, of vniting the realmes, and for the sure defence of theim, whiche fauoreth the mariage, we are compelled for the tyme, to kepe holdes, to make fortificacions in youre Realme: Yet the Kynges Maiesties mynde, and determinate pleasure, with oure aduise and counsaill, to bee as before is declared, where fauour maie be shewed, not to vse rigoure, if by condicions you will receive this amitie offered, not to followe conquest, we desire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie: let neither your Gouernour, nor your Kirkmen, nor those who so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [B vj, back] <sup>2</sup> [B vij] <sup>3</sup> [B vij, back] <sup>4</sup> [B viij]

often hath falsefied their faithe & promise, and by treacheric and falshed, be accustomed to prolong the 1 tyme, fede you further with faire wordes, and bryng you into the snare, from whence thei cannot Thei wil peraduenture prouide for themselfes, with pencions in some other Realme, and sett souldiours straungiers in youre holdes, to kepe you in subjection, vnder pretense to defende them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? How are you defended, when thei bee fled awaie? Who conquereth you when the straunge souldiours or Capitaines hath your holdes? When your land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, & the more part kept from you? Who will set by the mariage of the Quene, to buye a title with the war of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie Kyng holdyng the 2lande? If we twoo beyng made one by amitie, bee moste hable to defende vs against all nacions: and hauving the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and wel agreyng Monarchie, that neither in peace wee maie bee ashamed, nor in warre affraied, of any worldely or forrein power: why should not you bee as desirous of thesame, and have as muche cause to reioyse at it as we? If this honour of so noble a monarchie, do not moue you to take and accepte amitie, let the grief and the daungier of the before named losses, feare you to attempt that thyng whiche shall displease God, encrease warre, daungier youre Realme, destroy your landes, vndo your 3children, waste your groundes, desolate youre Countreis, and bryng all Scotlande either to famyne and miserie, or to subjeccion and seruitude of another nacion. Wee require but your promised Quene, your offred agreemnt of vnitie,4 the ioynyng of bothe the nacitons: whiche God of his infinite clemencie and tendre loue that he hath declared, to beare to bothe the nacions, hath offered vnto vs bothe, and in maner called vs bothe vnto it: Whose callyng & prouocacion, we have & will followe, to the beste of oure powers, and in his name, and with his ayde, admonicion, exhortacion, requestes, and Embassaides, not beyng hable to do it, and to finde stablenes in promises: We shal not willyng, but 5 constreined, pursue the battaill chastice the wicked and malicious, by the angrie Angelles of GOD, the Fire and Sworde. Wherefore, wee require & exhort all you, who hath loue to youre Countrey, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your quene & Maistresse, regarde of youre honors and promises, made by yo greate Seale of Scotlande: And who fauoreth the peace. loue, unitie, and concord, and that most profitable mariage, to entre and to come to vs, and declaryng your true and godly hartes therunto, to ayde vs in this moste Godly purpose & enterprise: be witnesse of our doynges, we refuse no man temporall ne spirituall, lorde ne larde, gentilman, ne other, who will ayde this our purpose, and <sup>6</sup>minishe the occasion of alaughter and destruccion, to whom we shall kepe the promisses heretofore declared, and further see reward & recompence made according to deserte. And for a more sure <sup>1</sup> [B viii, back] <sup>2</sup> C i <sup>3</sup> C i, back <sup>4</sup> 'vntiie' in orig. <sup>5</sup> C ii <sup>6</sup> C ii, back

profe, and playner token of the good mynd & wil whiche we beare vnto you: that whiche neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande, in any league, truce or peace, betwixte Englande and Scotlande, because you shall have profe of the beginning of love and amitie of bothe the realmes: the kynges highnes, considering the multitude of them, whiche is come to his maiesties deuocion, and of theim that bee well willers and ayders, of this Godly enterprise, hath by oure aduise and counsail graunted, & by these presentes doeth graunt, that from hencefurthe, all maner of merchauntes, and other Scottishmen, who will entre their names, with one of the lieuetenauntes or wardens of the Marchies or any other of the Kynges maiesties officers hauyng aucthoritie, and there professe to take parte with vs, in this before named godly purpose, to his awne commoditie, and to serue all suche as be of the same agrement: may lawfully, and without any trouble and vexacion, entre into any Porte, Creeke, or Hauen of Englande, and vse their trafique of merchaundise, either by lande or sea, bye & sell, bryng in the commoditie of Scotlande, and take and cary furth the commodities of England, as liberally and as 2 frely, & with thesame, & no other custome or paimentes therefore, then Englishmen, & the Kynges subjectes doth at these presentes myndyng further vpon the successe hereof, to gratifie so yo furtherers of this moste Godly enterprise and vnion, that all the world may be witnes of ye great zeale and loue, whiche his highnes dooeth beare, towardes you and your nacion. And all this the Kynges highnes by our aduise and counsaill, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and genen in commaundement to vs, and all his Lieuetenauntes, Wardens, Rulers, and other hed officers, ministers & subjectes, to see executed and doen, according to the true purporte, effecte and meanyng therof. Fare you well.

At London the v. of Februarij in the seconde yere of the reigne of the moste noble Prince and our souereigne Lorde, Edward the vi. by the grace of God of Englande, Fraunce & Ireland, kyng, defender of the faith, and in yearthe vnder Christ the supreme hedde of the Churche of Englande and Irelande.

Excusum / Londini in / Aedibus Ri/chardi Graf/toni Typogra/phi Regii. / Anno Salutis humani / M. D. XL VIII. / Cum privilegio / ad imprimen/dum solum.

¹ C iii

<sup>2</sup> C iij, back

³ [C iiii]



# AN EPI-

tome of the title that the kpnges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the souereigntie of Scotlande, continued bpon the auncient writers of both nacions, from

M. D. X L V I I I.

the beginnung.

CUM PRIVILEGIO

AD IMPRIMEN
DUM SOLUM.

## THE PREFACE.

TO THE MOSTE NOBLE AND excellent prince, Edward the .VI. by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe and vpon yearth supreme hed, of the Churche of Englande, and Irelande: your humble and obedient subjecte Nicholas Bodrugan otherwise Adams, wissheth long life, and the same prosperous and happie.

lthough I knowe right well (mooste noble Prince) that there be diverse whiche bothe by their counsaill and writyng, do to their vttermoste powers swade the vnion of Scotlande vnto youre highnes, by the mariage of their Quene, a meane thereunto bothe honourable and Godly: Yet neuertheles, the same study and furder declaracion of your maiesties 1 title to the superioritie thereof semeth vnto me to bee so indifferently perteining to all menne, whiche doo professe obedience to youre highnes, that no mannes studie ought to be taken as vain or vnthankefull, whiche humbly bryngeth furthe to that common vse, whatsoeuer indgement, profite, or knowledge, he supposeth to have founde, either by studie, or inquisicion: foreseying that in tempestious vpswellynges of water or shipwracke, fire, or other like calamities of men, right acceptable vnto vs is the labor of those and thankes worthie, which wyllyngly do runne to helpe vs. although in the meane tyme there be other sufficient nombre, to deliuer vs from the perill objected. Herefore, most noble prince, pervsing<sup>2</sup> the auncient histories of this greate Britaigne, and fyndyng suche plentie of writers confessyng your superiorite of Scotland, as could not by any entendement so fully consent vpon any vntruth, I thought it my deutie to offre vp thesame vnto youre highnes, [aienst the obstinacie of Scottis a nacion often vanqueshed by the valiant manhod of your noble progenitoris, & only left in lyf by theire merciel, which histories like as almightie God hath from tyme to tyme, in fauor of the truth and of your title preserved: So hath his Godhed signified no lesse fauour to your highnes, vouchesauyng to nobilitate thesame, in the persone of your maiestie, conserued vnto

<sup>1</sup> A ii. <sup>2</sup> perceiuyng. A iij.

this youre tyme the noble house of Seymour, whose auncester Eldulph de Samour beeyng then Erl of Gloucester, many hundreth yeres a gone, in the tyme of kyng Aurelie Am¹brose slewe Hengest the Saxon capitall enemy of the Briton nacion: by whiche noble seruice like as this Realme was deliuered from the tyranny of Saxons, and restored to the whole Empire & name of greate Briteigne; so we youre obedient and louyng subjectes truste, that the right noble duke of Somerset, and the lorde Seimour of Sudeley, your graces high Admirall, your Maiesties dere vncles, shall, in the service of voure highnes, for the like restitucion of the name and Empire of greate Briteigne vnto your highnes, shew themselfes the worthic successors of such an auncester. Neither haue I purposed herin, with opprobrious wordes to skold with the Scottes, and thereby to wipe of one durt with <sup>2</sup>another. Neither do I intende to builde vpon our awne Englishe aucthors, but all my purpose is, by indifferent writers, with plain and euident truth (whiche thyng bothe time and maners do euermore require) to publishe your majesties right and their defence. following therein for the more part Ueremund, Camphil, Cornelius de Hibernia and Boccius their awne aucthors: whiche peines because I have assumed rather as a necessarie service to my countrey, then for mine awne glory, I truste I shall offende none but such, whom it should bee ashame to please. Myne inclinacion is to haue the good worde of every man, but the diseased malice of some cannot saie well of any. Albeit, touchyng the phrase and stile of this my writyng, if thesame to any man shall not satisfie his expectacion, let hym consider that in parte it behough to vse the wordes of the historie, in whiche I am restrained by promise of an Epitome; and that in the residue it was not my mynde to trifle with the fine flowers of Rethorike, but to bryng rather faithfull, then painted gliteryng ouerture, vnto thinges afflicted. The veritie of the Histories I trust shall so hereby appere, that both the good men of Scotlande, by reason and thenemies (if any such bee) by their awne shame shalbe driven, to confesse this myne assercion to be true, and thesame suche as though the mariage by the iniquitie of some take not effecte. yet to publishe to the world sufficient cause, for the maintevnaunce of your maiesties accion against them, wherein the honor of a kyng may not geue place to their wilfull rebellion. And for recoury whereof, vndoubtedly almightie God, for your syncere fauor to the auancement of his holy woorde, will by his promise as he hath

begon, continue your highnes in felicitie and victory, ouer all his and your enemies, wher vnto all youre true subjectes doo saie

#### AMEN.

A iij, back. <sup>2</sup> A iiij. <sup>3</sup> A iiij, back.

## THE KYNGES TITLE TO SCOTLANDE.

<sup>1</sup> If the veritie which auncient and indifferent writers have made common to all nacions might aswell perswade the Nobles and Commons of Scotlande, asit hath reason, bothe to charge them and disproue all their objections, thei would right sone laie doune their weapons, thus rashely received, to fight against the mother of their awne nacion: Imean this realme now called Englande the onely supreme seat of thempire of greate Briteigne. In whose bosome cast with vs, as bothe in one moulde, thei have received thesame toungue, lawe and language: for asmuche therefore, as nowe touchyng the mariage of their Quene, there is nothyng of 2 our part left vndoen, that ought to perswade theim to concorde, and thesame by diverse of theim hetherto wholy neglected, thei shall of my parte easely perceive that to increase their errour, approve their folly, or allowe their obstinacie, I am not disposed; but contrarily by ye veritie (wher in their awne writers shalbee no defence to theim, but meere condempnacion) to publishe to the world the state of these contencions, our title & their defence: pursuyng the which, I will followe ye wordes of thistorie as followeth.

THE auncient writers of the Histories of this whole Isle of greate Briteigne, confesse that after our firste progenitor Brutus, the yere from the beginning of the worlde iiii. M. xxvii. had ar rived in this Isle, and after his awne name had called it Briteigne, he had issue thre sonnes, Locryne, Albanactus, and Camber, betwene whom, after his deathe thei agreed in this particion, that Locryne had this first and worthiest part, whiche now is called England, Albanactus the second part, now by the Scottes possessed, by hym called Albania, whiche their awne writers confesse: and to Camber chaunced the third part now called Wales: the two better4 partes to be holden of the firste, as of the worthiest of the bloud, according to the Troyan lawe, from whence thei were discended, whiche superioritie also by their different bearyng of the Armes of the father, leuyng the entier cote in the eldest brother, bis sufficiently testified vntill this daie. The particion in this wise established, Albanactus possessyng Albania was by Humbre, his subject miserably slain, with out issue of his body: to punishe whiche traitery, Locrine and his brother Camber assembled their power and entered Albania, and there slewe this Humber, whose body thei threwe into a great river. Some write that this Humber beyng desperate, threw hymself into this



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A v, back. <sup>2</sup> A vi. <sup>3</sup> A vi, back. <sup>4</sup> corrected to 'later' in margin. <sup>5</sup> A vii.

River, but all confesse, that in this river his bodie was drouned, and that hereof toke the name of Humber, which it kepeth to this daie. This Locrine herupon seazed Albania into his awne handes, as excheated wholy to hymself, not yeldyng any part therof vnto Camber his brother, whereby also euidently appereth the entier seigniory ouer it to consist in hymself, according to whiche example, like lawe emong brethren euer since hath continued, preferryng the eldest brother to the onely benefite, of the collateral assencion from the youngest, as well in Scotlande as in Englande vnto this daie. Locryne reigned in this state ouer them .xvii. yeres. Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locryne, that is to saie the sonne of Mempris, soone of Madan, sonne of thesame Locryne, buylded in Albania the castle of Maidens, nowe called Edenbrough: and the Castle of Alcluth or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottishe Hector Boecius confesseth: wherby moste euident'ly appered: that this Ebranke was then therof seazed. This Ebranke reigned in this state ouer them .lx. yeres, after whose death this Albania as annexed to the Empire of Briteigne, discended to the onely kyng of Britons, vntil the discent to the twoo sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from thesaied Ebranke, who brotherly upon the first example deuided the realme. Morgan had Logres, and Conedage had Albania: but shortly after Morgan thelder brother ponderyng in his hed, the loue to his brother,3 with the loue to a kyngdome, excluded nature and gaue place to ambicion, and ther upon denounced warr to his brother: 8 in whiche warre as the rereward of his vntruthe, death miserably ended his life: wherby Condage obteined the whole Empire of al Briteigne, in whiche state he remained .xxxiii. yeres.

AFTER whose time thesame lineally descended to thonly kyng of Britons, vntill after the reigne of Gorbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferres, and Porres, whiche Porres requiryng like particion of the land, affirmyng the former particions to bee rather of lawe then fauour, was by the handes of his elder brother, both of his life and hoped kyngdome bereued at once: but their vnnaturall mother vsyng her natural malice, that for the deathe of her one sonne, would bee reuenged by the losyng of bothe, miserably slewe the other.

. . . . . . . . .

<sup>5</sup>But what nede I to exampne the intermission of our claime by any length of tyme, since this superioritte passed the consentes of all Scotlande by their solempne acts of Parliament, against whiche neither laws nor reason can enhable theim to prescribe.

This haue I declared & proued vnto you how Brute our first progenitor, ohis people and their posterity enioyed the whole Isle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A vii, back. <sup>2</sup> A viij.

<sup>3</sup> All these three corrected in the margin to 'Cosyn'.

<sup>4</sup> A viij, back.

<sup>5</sup> G iiij, back.

<sup>6</sup> sic.

of great Britaigne in xkii. discentes of kynges almost vi .c. yeres 1 before any Scottisheman came within it. I have also proved vato you how after their commyng into it, immediat war was made vpon theim by the kynges of this Briteigne, whiche ceased not vntill they wer expulsed, all the bondes of it, and albeit at diners tymes they entred it again, yet did these warres neuer ceasse against them vntil they became subjectes in whiche state they have remained about xvi .C. yeres. I have also proued vnto you how from tyme to tyme synce ye beginning the Scottes received and obeyed the olde lawes and customes of this realme, mooste of whiche remaine among theim to this day. I have further proued how their kynges have been contributorye to the redemption of kynges of 2 this realme, whiche is the duetie of onely subjectes. I have also proved vnto you howe the generall iurisdiction ecclesiastical of Scotland many hundreth yeres after y' beginning was subjected to y' dioses and rule of tharchebishoppe of Yorke in Englande, whereby also appeareth thesame to be then vnder this dominion. I have likwise proued vnto you that Willyam called the Conqueror, of whom our king is linially discended, was heire testamentary of the whole dominion by the testament of kyng Edward the confessor, & though whiche were not true, yet was y' obedience of Scotland from the beginning inseparably appendaunt to the croune of this realme, and followed the possession of y seignorie as thyniges annexed, lyke as the dignities of the Roman Empier follow the state of Rome, according to whiche their homages and oure claymes have been continued to this day. I have proved vnto you also howe thearldome of Huntyngdon was only atteined but by one of their kynges, and that at the latter ende of his tyme long after y' kyng his brothers homage, done for y' croune of Scotland, and fortified & surrendred by the next, synce whiche time it neuer was restored again into any of their kynges handes: and yet to satisfie theim further therin, the tenor of all their kynges homages doeth folowe.

"I D. N. Kyng of Scottes shalbe true and faythfull vnto you lorde E. by the grace of God kyng of Englande, the noble and superior lord of the kyngdome of Scotland and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the vvhich I hold and claime to holde of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lymme and vvorldly honor against all menne, faythfully I shall knowledge and shall do you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland afore sayd as God so help and these holy euangelies."

I wyl not here plede the seueral resignacions and surrenders of the mere possession of y kyngdome of Scotland made by their lawfull kynges, to our kynges Edwarde the first and Edwarde the third: nor yet allege our kynges pedugre from Mawde the doughter of Malcolme their bkyng, nor yet argue the right of remainder of the kyngdome of Scotland in our kyng for lacke of issue of the bodyes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> G v. <sup>2</sup> G v, back. <sup>3</sup> G vi. <sup>4</sup> G vi, back. <sup>5</sup> G vii.

of Dauid and Jane so entailed by thesame Dauid then kyng thereof as is before declared: nor yet object a forfaiture vpon their rebellion, for our kinges maiestie that now is doth farre otherwise by mariage require it at their handes. Now, because some of the Scottes alledge that they disagre to this mariage fearyng the severitie of our lawes, I have thought good to remember in this place one or two of theirs. sufficient example wherby to judge the nature of al the rest.

They have a lawe that if the father (though by the kynges licence) infeffe or geue landes to his 1 sonne, yet if afterwarde thesame father trespas the law, his offence shall forfeite this land, notwithstandyng that the sonne was by all solemne lawe assured of it before the offence of the father.

Another, that if any man dye onely suspected of treason without any other fact done, yet may this cause be examined after his deth and he somened at his graue, & vpon condempnacion, his landes and goodes confiscat as if he wer yet liuyng, of bothe these lawes innocentes have no lesse cause to feare the malice, then trespassors have to drede the paine.

I have studied a great while the lawes of this realme, & be it sayd without arrogancie, haue red theim all bothe old and new and therfore I dare affirme that the moost wicked lawe that euer 2 was geuen in this realme, conteigneth not halfe somuche iniquitie as the best of bothe these do.

Wherfore if they mistrust the severitie of our lawes, chiefly as they bee mitigated at this day, none can better trust, then they y' so do mistrust: but the likyng of their lawes standeth to them selfes, in them there is none alteracion sought: for policie in sondry places must of necessitie require sondry lawes, like as in divers places of Englande to this daye be enjoyed diversitie in customes & have been without alteracion offred 8 since their beginning. Our title in this wise published, & their objections as ye have heard answered, I will with your fauor in this wise turne my tale vnto the Scottishman. It wer an infinite worke (nobles and commons of 4Scotlande) nor the tale should neuer have an ende to declare what an inestimable euill<sup>5</sup> concord is, as that wherby all thinges in the world, yea and also the world it selfe standeth and agreeth together, & wherby as the famous Salust sayeth, small thynges growe to y' greatest welth: wherby discorde her contrary, all greatest and best thynges come to distruccion and desolacion, as by the civill warres between Silla and Marius, ye ruine of Rome is sufficient example to all the worlde. Wherfore I would nowe wishe & desire, whiche is all that I am able to dooe, that these cruel and bloudy warres betwene vs may shortly cease, which shal much yo soner come to passe if ye trust not your owne wilful affeccion, which beyng blynder then blyndnes itselfe hath closed vppe the iyes of your reason, and ledd your selfes

² G viii. 3 'suffred' in marginal correction. 1 G vii, back. Corrected to 'ieuel.' G viii, back.

into y' desert of obstinacie, wherin as your ways lyeth, so hath your foly extended.

Nature the wise mother of all thynges, when she ordeined all beastes with some natural municion, as horne, spurre, tothe or naile: she wold not create man either cruel or vengeable by any of this outward thinges, but gaue him reason, & so to rule without angre or armour: she endowed you with giftes to the maintenaunce of concorde, & will you vse theim to discorde? is it warre that you thinke profitable is it discorde & mischiefe that beyng hatefull to other menne semeth to you pleasaunt? what differeth warre from lall other eiuils? but that it excedeth in malice: your cause that produceth war is neither honest nor just, neither godly, nor necessarye, but against honestie, vice: against iustice, iniust: against godlynes, wicked, against necessitie, wilful obstinacy: the fruites whereof be so horrible y' of wise men they be with more lamentacion bewailed, then of your vnwisedomes with painefulnes suffered. If maymes, if pouertie, if sickenes, if woundes, if lamenes, if robbery, if manquellyng (I omit death, as to gentle a thyng among these miseries) did appere either pleasaunt or profitable, I would sumwhat stay my penne? Further, what properties procedeth of warre, but outragious costes, vnmesurable labor, ineuistable perilles, consumyng anger, vnrestfull quietnes: the baner whiche you folow is a guide but to misery and death, either to kil other vnmercifully, or els to dye wickedly: but let shame do yt in you which wisedome should do, or els amende by wisedome that shame compel you not: if profite & quietnes that is in peace cannot moue you, yet let trouble & horror that is in warre with the iniustice of your cause feare you, if your magistrates be enemies to this honorable & godly vnion, their cause is neither amitie nor love, either to you or their countrey, nor honorable to themselfes repugnyng their owne Acte of Parliament lately made for confirmacion of thesame vnion: and withall let your popishe Clergie thinke, that dissimulacion neuer 3 commeth to thende that it is mente for, but to the contrary, and that like as a while their fayth hath deceived vs, so will it shortly beguile theim selfes, for nature neuer gaue like vertue to thinges counterfeicte, as to true in dede: all the wise writers of your owne nacion lament the wickednes of your clergie and condemne their vicious and prophane lines, but by hypocrisy thei alway had this gifte to shewe their vertue to the vttermost and hide their faultes to ye secretest, so that their vertue appeareth more then it is, & their vice lesse: well, God is the onely wreker of secret iniuries, whom no man may doubt shortely to open all your eyes, and he in the meane tyme I trust will make your governor (beyng naturally discended of an Englishe house in kynge Edwarde the second his dayes as your owne writers confesse) againe to become a good Englishman, which vndoubtedly he shalbe, & a Scottishman also, whensoeuer he shall depely consider

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> H i, back, <sup>2</sup> H ii, <sup>3</sup> H ii, back, <sup>4</sup> H iii,

the iustnes of our cause, his fayth, and your affliction by the miserye of this present warre betwene vs. to compare whiche with a greater eiuil, possibilitie suffereth not, to matche him with a like eiuil, his owne nature abhorreth, to shew what is in degre of euils vnder him should seme sufficient dispraise, if ambicion, if malice, if glory, if enuy, do only driue thether! men to warres, whether wyl temperaunce, godlynes, honestie, & wisedome draw a christian manne?

And nowe me 2 thinketh I here our countrey the common parent to vs all, say vnto you in this wyse. Ah Scottishemen, how long shall I beare your vnnaturall cruelties, howe long will ye remaine rebellious children, when shal there be end of your malice? Alas what wickednes is it among christen men, and those the neighbors in one kyngdome, that the greatter part cannot be contented with the best thyng, but by the light argument of euil leave the way that leadeth to perpetuall tranquilitie. All men would live in beatitude, but to foresee yo way how they may so do, ye goe farre awry. Knowe ye not how euil a maister he serueth of the twayne, discorde, or misery, of the whiche euermore the one followeth the osther. Be not discorde and miserve of thesame nature that other vices be: alway at discencion within themselfes making the man vnmete for all other thynges, and at last vnmete for discord it selfe; though nature to the obtaining of foly gaue euery man to many giftes, and to the following of vertue to fewe, yet she neuer better deserued to warde mankynd, then knowyng how many miseries she ordained him to dwel among, to teache him by reason remedy against them al, & wherby thei may receive no lesse ablenes to do well then before they had redynes to do euil: be not all men that be born to dye, the same also ordained to live by reason: & who of you by reason or otherwise is able to desist my persuatsion of this vnion. except he will say that the worst warre is better than the best peace, malice meter for Christian men then loue, and generally al discorde better then concorde, whiche thynges how different they be, God knoweth, and I perfitely fele. Can England offre you more reasonable, more honorable, more godly condicions of peace then she doeth: except she had that from God which maketh all his Godhedde called perfeccion: can menne offre more then your lawfull libertie, peace, tranquilitie and amitie: do not these bryng forth wealth, securitie, and perpetual concorde; and do not all thinges in the worlde, yea, and the worlde itselfe stand and agree together by concorde: where is your reason, where is you bloue that Plato & Cicero require in you to be borne to me your countrey? Finally, where is the right knowledge of loue that ye ought to have to your selues? is not my tranquilitie thassuraunce of your wealth, and my trouble thas suraunce of you[r] miserie? The wicked moath bred in the clothe destroyeth the same. The cruel Vipar in procreacion killeth his mother, and yet he that beleueth their civilitie to be lesse

Corrected to 'hethen'. h iii, back. h iiij. h iiij, back. h v.

then yours, little considereth their cause to be of nature, and yours of wilfull disposicion. I did sowe you the good seedes of concorde, but there is sprong vp among you cockle and fatche, the wedes of discorde, and thus your corrupcion of a good thyng hath engendred an euil, whervpon your 'infelicitie is ye more, because you see it not, but if you sawe it with reason aswell as reason seeth you, you would consider the peril, for I say it is your owne cause, therfore neglect not my monicion.

Spurne not against knowledge, rebell not against your wealth, more honor is offered vnto you then euer chaunced to the Scottishe nacion, the tyme serueth it, reason requireth it, the consent of all good men desire[th] it, and God pitiyng my long affliccion hath offred the occasion, which beyng of your partes thankefully received, bringeth wealthful securitie to your selfes, your wyues, children, your goodes, & all your posteritie, and wherby you shall avoid calamitie, misery exilement or death, whiche otherwise by the 2 iniustice of your cause, will vndoubtedly folow; therfore in this choise, let it be no harde thyng to make you consent to your owne wealth. And on that condicion, I do require the whole membres of all great Briteigne, that like as these many hundreth yeres ye have prosecuted eche other with fyre, sworde, and slaughter, that so ye do from hensfourth prosecute eche other with amitie, loue, and frendship, all olde and newe displeasures betwene you to be hereafter none otherwyse considered then if your hand offend the eye, or the to the the tong, in whiche case to punish, the reuenge shuld be against your selues. And finally, let your whole contencion hereafter be, whiche of you bothe shall with better wyll deserue ye <sup>3</sup> frendshippe of the other, to the glorye of God, the tranquilitie and wealth of your selves, and vtter discorage of my common enemies.

FINIS.

[Uv H]

EXCVSVM
LONDINI, IN
AEDIBVS RICHARDI GRAFTONI, TYPOGRAPHI REGII
M. D. XLVIII.

CVM PRIVILEGIO

AD IMPRIMENDVM SOLVM.

h v, back.

² h vi

h vi, back.



## GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

This index aims at registering all the words occurring in the Complaynt, which differ in spelling or usage from modern English. Except in special cases, one reference only, to the page, is given. The etymologies serve to show at once the large French element, and that the basis of the language is Anglo-Saxon. The following abbreviations occur: A.S. Anglo-Saxon; Fr. French; Ger. German; Isl. Icelandic; M.Sc. Modern Scotch; O.E. Old English; O.Fr. Old French; O.North. Old Northumbrian; Sw. Swedish; n. noun; p. past (tense and participle); p.p. past participle; p.t. past tense; pl. plural; pr. ple. present participle; vb. verb; L. Leyden's Glossary.

Abhominatione, 36, abomination. aboleist, 79, vb. p. of aboleis, abolished.

absens, 25, absence.

Absolon, 25, Absalom.

abstrak, 127, vb. abstract, p.p. abstrakket.

abufe, 38; abuf, 91; abuif, 123, above.

abundand, 34, pr. p. abounding, abundant.

aburde, 40, aboard.

abusion, 159, -e, 32, n. abuse.

acceptione, 152, exception.

accessor, accessoir, 111, adj. accessory.

aecordis, 37, n. concords; accordit, 79, vb. p. agreed.

accusit, 1, v. p. accused.

achademya, 13, academy.

acquorns, 144, acorns. actor, 25, author.

COMPLAYNT.

adagia, 7, addagia, 142, adage.

admirabil, 54, wonderful.

admiration, 1, 55, admiratione, 134, wonder, marvel.

adnul, 31, vb. annul, p. adnullit, 17, annulled.

adoptive, 26, adj. by adoption.

aduersair, pl. aduersaris, 87, adversary.

aduertest, 89, warned.

adulatione, 2, flattery.

adultere, 138, adultery.

affectiue, 16, affectyue, 148, affectionate; affectione, 83, liking, inclination.

affinite, 2, (Fr.) affinity.

affligit, 1, p.p. afflicted (Fr. affligé).

affrayit, 70, p.p. put into an affray, frightened, afraid.

Affrica, 14, 44.

afoir, 40, before (M.Sc. afore).

aganis, 96, against. Agenoir, 20, Agenor. agonya, 121, agony. Agrest, 16, rustic (Fr. agreste). agust, 57, August. aige, 29, age. al, all, 4. alanerly, 1, only, ald, 1, alld, 88, old (A.S. cald, aleuin, 86, eleven. allace, 34, alas. allegeance, 31, n. pl. allegings, allegations. allegis, 35, alege, 133. Allexander, 25, 33. alligoric, 29, allegorical. allya, 78, 182, alya, 99, n. ally. allies, alliance; allaya, 100, to ally. almaist, almast, I, almost. Alman, 66, 146, (Fr. allemand) German. Almy, 83, the Almis. Alrukaba, 49, the pole star. alsa, 74, alse, 1, also. alse, ashes. See ase. alter, 76, n. altar. altir, 26, vb. alter; altirs, 58; altris, 21, 57. amang, 1, among. Amman, 2, Haman. amplitude, 1. ande, and. ane = a, an, 1; ane = one, 13. anent, 9, prep. about, concerning. aneuch, aneucht, 137, enough. animaduert, 101, 158, vb. pay attention, take notice; animaduertens, 163, attention. Aniou, 4, Anjou.

ankir, ankyr, 40, anchor.

Annibal, 12, 13, 14, Hannibal. ansuer, ansuere, ansueir, answer; answert, 13, answered. antartic, 49. antecessours, 3, antecestres, 186, (O.Fr.) ancestors. Antepodos, 38, Antipodes, 50. antiant, 19, ancient. anticepet, 36, vb. p. anticipated. antiquite, 16, (Fr.) antiquity. apeir, aper, vb. appear; aperis, 1, 58; aperand, 26, appearing; aperens, 70, -ance. Apothigmatis, 15, Apophthegms. appin, 57, apin, 115, open; appynly, 133, openly. Appollo, 10, Apollo, 83, a name of the planet Mercury, 54. apposit, 55, opposit, 172, opposite; appositione, 55, opposition. Apuilya, 98, Apulia. ar, 1, are. Arabie, 139, Arabia. arage, arrage, 124, 125, feudal service with avers or draught-cattle (Low Lat. averagium). arand, 44, pr. ple. ploughing, tilling (O.E. earing, Lat. arans). archebischop, 5. ardant, 16, ardent. argou, 183, vb. argue. aris, 42, (A.S. ár) n. pl. oars. armit, 12, armed. armye, 6, army. armys, armis, 148, n. pl. arms. artailzee, 41, artillery. artic, 48, arctic. artifeis, 20, artifice. artikil, artiklis, 97, article, -s. as, after comparative = than, 5, 13, 14, 71; mair as, comp. German mehr als.

Baanacht, 121, Baanah.

asce, asse, ase, alse, 21, 152, ashes (A.S. asce, M.Sc. áss). asephales, 167, adj. pl. acephalous, without head. assailze, to assail, 3; assailzeis, 34; p.p. assaileit, assailet, 161, assailmeours, 77, assailants. assaltis, 6, assaults. asse, 39, 64, 123, ass. assentatione, 2, flattery. Assiriens, 21, 27. Assuerus, 2, Ahasuerus. Assure, 27, Ashur. astrolog, 37, astrological, astronomical; astrologien, 32, astrologer. astuce, 97, austuce, 87, astute. atentic, 3, authentic. Athenes, 21, 33. athort, 1, athourt, 38, athourcht, 111, athwart, across, all over. auance, auanse, 1, (Fr. avance) advance, 1, -cis, 53. auaye, 28, away. aucht, 94, eight, eighth. aucht, 36, ought. audiens, 31, audience, hearing; auditur, 29. auen, 9, 7, own. auenture, 97, (Fr.) fortune, luck. auereise, 73, auareis, 166, avarice; auerisius, 83, avaricious. Auerois, 62, Averrhoes. auful, 26, awful. austral, 49, southern. austuce, 87, astute. autorite, pl. -eis, 29, (Fr.) authority. ay, 49, always. ayr, 34, air. ayr, -is, 143, heir, -s. Ayre, 93, Ayr.

Aysia, 110, Asia.

Babillon, 80, Babillone, 25, 28, Babilone, 20, Babylon. bac, back. baglap, 66. baik, vb. bake, p.t. buke, p.p. baikyn, 85. baith, baitht, 85; bath, batht. 104, baytht, 6, both. bak, bac, 56, back; bakuart, 6, 66, backward. bald, 40, 99 = bad, vb. p.t. of bid, byd. baldfyir, 42, 111, balefire, bonfire. balk, 93, 138, beam (A.S. balca). Balzol, 80, Baliol. band, 121, vb. p.t. of bynd, bound. band, 181, n. bond, contract. bane, 37, banis, 152, bone, -s. bannes, 162, banish; bannest, 87, banished. bannis, 134, vb. bans, curses. Bannochtburne. 96. Bannockburn. baptist, 4, christened, named. Barba saron, 67, "the herb Arum, called also aron (Gr. apor), wake robin or cuckoo pint." L. barbir, 4, barbire, 106, (Fr. barbare) barbarous. baris, 3, vb. bears. barran, 70, barrane, 21, barren. barrons, 23, barons. bassine, 145, bassyn, 129, basin. batel, 80, battel, 26, battle, pl. battellis. batht, 104, baytht, 121, both, batton, 28, (Fr.) rod, stick. Baudouyne, 4, Baldwin. bayr, 26, 123, vb. bear. bayr, 41, adj. bare.

ayrdit, 69, (Fr. bardé) caparisoned, harnessed with armour, &c.

ayrn, 41, (A.S. bearn) pl. bayrns, 123, child.

bayrnished, 67, should probably be bayrnis bed, child-bed, the matrix. Suffocatione of the bsufflation of the womb.

baytht, 6, both.

be, 2, prep. by.

bean, 174, been; beand, 2, 79 being.

beaulte, 70, (O.Fr.) beauty.

becum, 34, become, p.t. becam.

befoir, 117, befor, 2, before; of befoir = d'avant.

beggand, 135, begging.

begynnyng, 12.

behald, 66, vb. behold.

behufe, 29, n. behoof; behuvit, 131, vb. behoved.

behynd the hand, 115, behind hand.

beir, 38, n. a shrill or whizzing noise (M.Sc. birr).

beir, 145, n. beer.

beir, vb. bear; beiris, 73; p.t. bure, p.p. born.

beis, 75, 97, (if it) be.

bekkis, 66, n. bows, curtsies.

belay, 41.

beleif, 8, vb. believe; p. beleifit, 97, beleuit, 22.

bel-veddir, 66, bell-wether.

benefice, 116, benefit, good deed; pl. benefice, beneficis, beneficis, 20.

Beniemyn, 126, Benjamin.

berial, 37, beryl.

berk, berkis, 139, to bark; p. berkit.

bern, pl. bernis, 93, (A.S. bern) barn.

bersis, 41; "F. barces, berches,

a species of cannon formerly much used at sea, resembling the fancon, but shorter and of larger calibre." L.

Bertan, bretan, 82, Britain.

Beruic, 80, Berwick.

bestial, 64, (Fr. bestail) belonging to beasts; bestialite, 43, 69, cattle. best lyik, 11, best looking, handsomest.

's, 67, n. beet.

petraise, 109, vb. betray; betrasis, 121, p. betrasit, 104, betrayed.

iix, 5, between.

b k, 9, 67, buik, 82, book, pl.

beye, 66, (A.S. beo) n. bee.

beym, pl. beymis, 38, 56, beam, -s.

beyrde, 15, n. beard.

beyst, 17, -is, 28, beast, -s.

bibil, 23, 75, Bible.

big, 24, build (A.S. byggan); p. bigget, 20, 79, built.

birn, 110, vb. burn; birnand, 25, burning, p. brynt.

Bizance, Bizante, 116, Byzantium.

blaberand, 37, blabbering, babbling.

blac, 52, black.

blait, 39, vb. bleat.

blason, 14, blazon, blab.

blasphematione, 155, blasphemy.

blau, vb. blow, p.t. bleu, p.p. blauen, 38; blauuand, 42, blowing.

bleddir, 64, bladder (M.Sc. ble ser).

bleytht, 66, blythe.

blude, bluid, 81, blood.

blyind, 140, blind.

blythtnes, 84, blitheness.

Bocchas, 281, Boccaccio.

boggis, 38, n. bogs.

boirdours, bordours, 106, borders. boldfyir, 25, v. bald fyir. bollene, boulene, 40, bow-line. bolt, 131, shaft, dart. bonet, 41, 145, bonnet, cap. borage, 67, Borago officinalis. boreaus, 27, borreaus, 86, (Fr.) executioners, hangmen (M.Sc. burriours). borial, 37, boreal, 48. borne, 33, born. borouing days, 38, the three last days of March, supposed to be borrowed from April, to give the "rough month" a chance of blowing its worst,' and therefore specially boisterous. See buroustoun. boroustone. borrel, 11, a wimble or borer. borrel, adj. (Fr. bureau, borel, L. borellus) coarse, rude, belonging to the common people. bostit. boistit, 124. bullied. threatened. bot, conj. but, 2; lest, 75; unless, 7; adv. only, 6; prep. without, 24. boule, 33, (Fr.) ball. boulene, bollene, 33, bow-line. bounte, 2, (Fr.) goodness.

boy, 41.

brakkis, 58. p.t. brac: p.p. brokyn. 14, brakkyng, breaking. bracfast, 42, n. breakfast. brais, 42, pl. of bra, braes. brakkis, 58, vb. breaks. brane, 16, brain. brangland, 68, (Fr. branlant) pr. ple. wavering, tottering. branglis, 66, a kind of dance. See p. xcv. bras, 145, brass; brasyn, 189. brascheletis, 120, bracelets. braulis, 66, a kind of dances. See p. xcv. brede, 122, breyd, 43, breyde, 26, bread. bredir, brethir. See brodir. breir, 64, briar (A.S. brér). brig, 63, bridge (A.S. bricg). brocht, 120, brought. brod, -ddis, 28, prick, -s; vb. to prick, 148; p. broddit, 123, prodded. broder, 4, brother; brudir, 120; pl. bredir, 76, 135; brethir, 123, 124, 128, 129, 139, 151, 157, brethyr, 143, bredther, 187; gen. pl. i brethers, 135. brodrut, 69, (em)broidered. brokyn, 14, broken. brudir. See broder. brac, 33, 99, 108, to break; | bruit, 116, (Fr.) report, rumour.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the origin of the name Borrowing days, the following popular rhymes are current:

> 'March borrowit fra Averill Three days, and they war ill.' ' March said to Aperill, I see three hoggs upon a hill; But lend your three first days to me And I'll be bound to gar them dee. The first it sall be wind and weet, The neist it sall be snaw and sleet, The third it sall be sic a freeze Sal gar the birds stick to the trees:-But when the borrowed days were gane, The three silly hoggs cam hirplan' hame.'

#### GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

it, 86 (A.S. brucan, Ger. nuch joyed, used, usurped.

tal, 32, brutish, irrational.

brute, 178, ruit, report. brycht, 37, bright.

n, 40, · j. fierce, raging.
, 76, · ', (pp. of birn) burnt
.Sc. brunt).

buenornis, 42, buckhorns.

Buciphal, busiphal, 150, Bucephalus.

bucolikis, 64, Bucolies.

buffons, 66, morris dances, p. xcv. buik, beuk, 82. book.

bullir, 39; to bellow, boom, as a bull or bittern.

bullis, 39, bulls.

bundin, 146, bundyn, 102, (p.p. of bynd) bound (M.Sc. bun').

Burbon, 89, Bourbon.

burcht, 124, burght, 143, burgh. bure, 68, vb. p. bore.

burght, burcht, n. burgh, borough. Burgung;e, 4, Burgundy.

burnis, 38, (A.S. burne) brooks, rivulets.

buroustounis, 87, burroustounis, 45, boroustone, 167, borough-

busk, 37, n. (Fr. bosc) bush. but, 123, n. butt.

but, 48, prep. without; 4, conj. unless.

butin, butine, 146, (Fr.) booty, spoil.

by, prep. near, 7; beyond, besides, without, past, 72.

by, 11, 64, 133, vb. buy; p. bocht.

bygane, 105, bygone.

bynd, 121, bind; p.t. band; p.p. bundyn, 102. byrdyng, 123, birding, 127, (A.S. byrden) burden. byrnand, burning. byssynes, 9, 95, bysynes, 2, business, state of being busy. bytis, 125, vb. bites.

cabil, cabil-stok, 40, cable, capstan. cabinet, 7, recess.

cace, 137, case.

cad c, 170, (Fr.) frail, fleeting. cald, 52, cold; caldnes, 59.

caliginus, 38, adj. dark, gloomy.

il, 167, (Fr. calcule) vb. callate.

canand, 42, calling; callit, 3, called.

calumniaturis, 31, calumniators. cam, 10, vb. p.t. came.

cammauyne, 67, camomile or "cummin, sometimes spellit commayne." L.

campit, 83, 98, encamped; campt, 97, camp.

Cannes, 13, Cannæ.

cannonlau, 164, canon law.

cape, 3, cope, summit of vault.

Capes, Capee, 113, Capues, 44, Capua.

captan, 95, captain.

captiuite, 1, captivity.

carage, carraige, 125; "a servitude still customary in various parts of Sc., by which a tenant is bound to carry for the proprietor a stipulated quantity of coals, grain, &c., or to serve him with men and horses a certain number of days in the year." L.

carion, -s, 119, (Fr. caroigne) carcase.

carl, 144, (A.S. ceorl, Isl. karl) a churl, boor.

carrecters, 69, characters.

cassin, 28, p.p. casten, cast (M.) Sc. cuis'n). castel, 20, castle, pl. castellis, 95. caterris, 37, (Fr. catarre) caterrhs. Cathon, 44, Cato. cattel, 29, 69, cattle. caue, 57, (Fr.) cellar. cauillatione, 167, cavilling. caupon, caupona, 40. See p. lxix. causles, 95, causeless. cauteil, (Fr. cautele) n. caution, craft, address. Cayphas, 83, Caiaphas. Cecile, 151, Cecille, 129, Sicily. celest, 64, (Fr.) celestial, heavenly. celidone, 67, celandine, chelidonium majus. centir, 51, n. centre. certifie, 91, vb. certify; certificat, 95, certificate. cesterne, 126, cistern. chaisse, 26, 75, chasse, 75, chaise, 27, to chase; p.t. chaissit, 97. chalmyr, 134, chamber. Champayngie, 5, Champagne. chandelaris, 76, chandeliers. chantit, 39, vb. p. chanted. charpenteir, 10, (Fr.) carpenter. Chartagiens, 146, Carthaginians. chasbollis, 94, (Fr. ciboules, It. cipollo, L. cepella) onions (M.Sc. ceyba's). cheapel, 63, chapel. cheiffis, 98, chiefs; cheiftane, 97. cheip, 39, to cheep, as a young bird. cheir, 68, cheer, countenance.

cheis, 43, choose; p.t. chesit, 11, chekyns, 39, chickens. cheldyr, 79, children. See child. chenze, 121, chenzeis, 114, (O.Fr. chaigne) chain, -s (M.Sc. cheins). cheptour, 19, 187, chapter. cheretabyl, 18, charitable; cherite, 17, charity. cheris, 91, to cherish. See cheis. chesit. chestee, 19, chestie, 23, vb. chastise (O.F. chastie, -r). child, 60, 145, pl. childir, 9, 20, 25, 30, 42, 47, 72, 76, 79, 86, 104, 119, 126, 132, cheldyr, 79, children (A.S. cildru, cildre). Christin, cristin, 23, Christian. cipressis, 67, cypress or cyperus? circoncisione, 35, circumcision. circuitis, 48, vb. revolves; p.t. circuit, 167, surrounded. cirurgyen, 129, (Fr. chirurgien) surgeon. cite, 11, city, pl. citeis; citinar,1 pl. citinaris, 11, 167, citizen, -s. ciuilis, adj. pl. civil. ciuilist, 10, n. civilist. claik, 39, cry of the geese. clair, 70, cleir, 73, clear, (Fr.) clais, 96, 101, clathis, 70, clothes. claytht, 145, cleitht, 98, clethd, 70, clad; clethyng, 68, clothing. cleene, 34, 138, clene, 7, clean. cleuchis, 38, cloughs, dells. clips, 56, vb. eclipses. close, 60, (Fr. clos) p.p. closed; closit, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Several French nouns denoting an agent have taken in Eng. and Sc. an additional agent-ending in -er, -ar: compare citinar, logicinar, medicinar, sophistar, vaticinar, with Fr. citoien, logicien, medicin, sophists, &c. In the Eng. astronomer, philosopher, practitioner, barrister, and vulgar musicianer, the -er is similarly redundant.

clud, -ddis, 88, cloud, -s. Cluny, 5, Clugny.

coagulis, vb. coagulates (Fr. coaguler).

cod, 68, (A.S. codde) pillow.

cokis, 39, cocks.

cokkil, 148, cockle, scallop, the badge of the order of St Michael.

collere, coller, 153, wrath (Fr. colere).

collic, 57, colic.

colone, 82, colony.

comeit, 58, comet.

comionyng, 107. See commonyng.

commandis, 31, commands. committaris, 130, committers.

comodite, 131, (Fr.) convenience, opportunity; comodius, 8, suitable, convenient.

comont, 16, common; comontly, 59; comont veil, 16, commonwealth.

comonyng, 63, 107, communing, holding communication.

comparit, 2, compared.

compeir, 114, to appear formally; comperit, 93.

compilaris, 16, compilers.

complein, 126, vb. to complain; complenant, complaining.

compleit, 181, complete.

complexion, 11, 106, mental character, disposition.

compt, 129, account.

concauite, 47, n. hollow, concave. concorde, 5, concord, harmony.

condamp, 16, 117, vb. condemn; p. condampnit, 119.

condiscendit, 98, pitched on, deseended to particulars.

confekkit, 145, confected, prepared by art.

confermit, 22, confirmed.

conferris, 28, compares; p. conferrit, 151.

conformand, 85, conforming. confortit, 54, comforted.

congelit, 59, congealed.

coniune, to conjoin; coniunit, 77, 82, conjoined.

coniuris, 133, conspires; coniuratione, 117, conspiracy.

conpair, 140, compare.

conpanggons, 42, companions.

conpilit, 143, compiled.

conpulsit, 43, compelled, forced. conqueriours, 19, conquerors.

conqueis, 4, 87, conques, 80, 91, to conquer, acquire, gain; p. conqueist, 77, conquest, 82; conquesting, 14, 81, 85; conquestours, 80, conquerors.

conques, n. (Fr. conquis) 91, 93, acquisition, possession.

consait, 6, 32, 137, conceit, con-

consaue, 52, conceive, p. consauit. consel, 19, consellis, 99, counsel, -s.

considir, 4, p. considerit, 90, considered; pr. ple. considerant, 3, 89.

conspiratione, 113, 117, (Fr.) conspiracy.

constellation, 56, stellar aspect (in astrology).

constrenge, to constrain; p. constrenges, 48, constrenges, 68, constrenges, 125, constrained.

consuetude, 87, -is, 106, custom,

(Fr. contempl -er) p. contemplate (61.

contemplene = -yng, 46, contemplating, contemplation.

contenens, 34, countenance.

conteneu, 23, 115, content, tenor. conteneuatione, 23, continuation.



contigue, 4, (Fr.) adj. contiguous. contrafait, 147, adj. counterfeit. contrair, 77, contrar, 2, (Fr.) prep. against. contrakk, to contract; contrakit, 107, contrakkit, 181, contracted. conualesse, 1, to recover. conucen, 116, convene. convoye, 130, vb. (Fr.) to conduct, guide; conuoyand, 42; p.p. conuoyit, 4. coppir, 145, copper. corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s. cordinar, 10, 181, (Fr. cordonnier) shoemaker. corne pipis, 42. See p. xcii. cornis, 96, corn crops. corriandir, 67, Coriander. corsbollis, 42, crossbows. coruppit, 9, 82, corrupit, 152. cosmaghraphie, 46, cosmography. cothouse, 96, cottage, labourer's house. cotis, 96, pl. of coit, 101, coat, -s. 20u, 63, vb. to cull. cou, 63, kou, cow; pl. ky, kine. coulis, 163, cowls. coulpe, 155, (Fr. coulpe, L. culpa) coupe, coupis, 76, n. cup, -s (Fr.). cours, 54, course. courtician, curtician, 133, (Fr. courtisan) courtier. couuardeis, 15, cowardice. couurit, 68, covered. crafft, 10, craft, trade; craftisman, 11. crag, 102, neck; pl. craggis, 102. cragis, 98, craggis, 38, crags, rocks.

craif, 124, crave.

crak, 42, crack.

craklene pokis, 41, "crackling-bags, bags for holding fireworks and combustibles employed in naval warfare." L. crans, 39, cranes. crau, to crow, p.t. creu, 39; pp. crauis, 39, n. crows. creat, 34, 43, vb. p. created. credens, 131, credit, belief. Creit, 80, Crete. crepusculine, 53, -yne, 38, dawncreu, 39, vb. p.t. crew. cristellyne, 48, crystalline. Crist Ihesus, 35. cristianite, 4, 160, Christendom (M.Sc. christendee); cristyn, 5, Christian. crone, 103, croune, 68, crown; cronit, 80, crowned. croniklis, 3, 35, pl. of cronikyl, 86, chronicle. crope, 39, (Goth. hropjan) to croak. crops, 121, tops, summits. crouettis, 76, cruets. croutit, 39, cooed as a dove. crualte, 3, cruelty. crukit, 159, crooked. cryar, 139, crier, shouter. culd, 56, could. culd, 63, = did. The old auxiliary gan = began, fell a-, did, was confounded with cas, and then culd used as its past. cullour, 129, 143, culour, 93,

cullour, 129, 143, cullour, 93, cullurs, 171, colour; cullourit, 14, coloured.
culuerene, 41, (Fr. couleuvrine, It.colubrina), also called serpentine, originally a hand gun of one yard in length; afterwards a cannon of the second order, long in proportion to its calibre.

cummand, 6, pr. p. coming. cummand, 130, command. cummirsum, 139, troublesome, pertinacious. cuntirpoint, 39, counterpoint. cuntra, 86, cuntray, 78, cuntre, 90; pl. cuntreis, 1, country. cunze, n. coin; cunzet, 109, coined. cupidite, (Fr.) 31, cupidity. curage, 13, curaige, 85, courage; curageus, 10, courageous. curdis, 42, curds. cursit, 24, 30, cursed. curtas, 162, courteous. curtician, 133, courtier. curtynis, 119, curtingis, 118, curcuschet, 39, cushat, wood pigeon. custum, 7 (O.Fr. coustume). cuttand, 94, cutting; cuttis, 12, cuts; cuttit, 120, p. cut. dagar, 81, dagger. daggar vyise, 41, dagger-wise, in form of a dagger. dail, 39, a dale; dailis, 38. dailis, 66, "ewes which miss lamb, and are fattened slaughter." L. daly, 175, dayly. damysel, 134, damysele, 108, damsel. dangeir, 14, danger. dansand, 66, dancing (Fr.).

dant, 145, (Fr. domte) to tame,

151, tamers.

Danyel, 77.

dar, 14, dare.

subdue; p. dantit, 21; dantaris,

Dauid, gen. sing. David's, 121. | deipnes, 21, depth.

cum, 7, vb. come, p.t. cam, p.p.

cummand, 6, coming.

cumyn; cumna, 41, come not!

day about, 175, a day alternately. debait, 184, debatit, 91, struggle, contention. deceis, 2, deceisse, 147, decese, 173, vb. decease; p. decessit, 122. dechaeis, 21, dechayis, 71, falls, decays (Fr. decheoir). decist, 12, vb. desist; p. decist, 108, desisted. declair, 47, declaris, 154, to explain, clear up, make plain. declinatione, 20, n. decline. decreit, 19, n. decree. decresse, 20, decrease. decretit, 23, p. of decreit, to decree. dede, deid, 123, n. deed, pt. dedis. dede, 8, 35, deid, n. death; dedebed, 173; dede dance, 66, dance of death. dede, 127, adj. dead. dedie, v. to dedicate (Fr. dedier); dediet, 7, dedient, 10, dediented. dee, 25, 80, to die; deit, 156, died. deesse, 11, (Fr.) goddess. defame, 102, n. disgrace. defeculte, 133, n. difficulty. deffait, 175, p.p. defeated (Fr. defait). deffendit, 3, defended. deffens, 2, defence; defensabil, 163, able to defend, ablebodied. defferens, 107, difference. deflorit, 92, deflowered. defluxione, 14, n. flow. degeistit, 9, digested. degenerit, 72, p.p. degenerated. degressione, 184, digression, deid, 123, deed. deiekkit, 17, p.p. expelled, cast out.

deir, 156, deer. deit, 156, died. deitht thrau, 121, death throe, contortion of death. delatit, 144, dilated, spread abroad. delegat, 144, delicate. delegent, 6, 89, diligent. delicius, 125, dainty, delicate. delue, 154, (A.S. delf) delve, dig. delyit, 43, delight. delyuir, 2, vb. deliver. demeritis, 27, demerits, deserts. denud, 87, vb. strip. denuncit, 164, denunsit, 103, denounced. deploir, 26, deplore; p. deplorit, depone, 136, to depose, make oath. descriuit, 2, described. desolat, 1, desolate. desolut, 108, dissolute. desyr, 82, desyir, 87, desire. detekkit, 17, read deiekkyt, v. p. rejected, cast out. determe, v. determine, p. determit, 109. detestatione, 9. detful, 8, adj. due, dutiful. detht, 58, death. detrakkers, 9, detrackers, 31, detractors. deu, 54, dew. deuly, 17, duly. deuoir, deuoris, 2, rb. devour. deuot, 4, devoted, devout. Deutronome, (Fr.) 24, Deuteronomy. deuyl, 33, devil. dextirite, 6, dexterity. dictionis, 17, words, vocables. did, 39, made.

dificil 130, diffecil, 15, (Fr.) difficult. dikis, 38, dikes; earthen stone walls and ditches. dilectabil, 66, delightful. diligat, 115, p.p. delegated. dilmondis, 66, wedders of the second year, masc. of gylmyr, q. v. dimineuis, 56, diminishes (Fr. diminue). direckyt, 7, directed. dirrogatione, 5, derogation. disaguisit, 70, disguised. disauit, 94, deceived. discendit, 1, descended. discention, -e, 45, 78, dissendiscipulis, 16, disciples. discomend, 139, disapprove. disconfeist, 84, 144, discumfeist, 77, discomfited, discumfytur, 177. discriue, 32, vb. describe. discriuit, 46, v. p. described. discuragit, 177, discouraged. discymilit, 153, dissembled; -nes, 182, dissembling. dishonestye, 97, dishonour. disiune, 43, breakfast (O.Fr. desjeune). disnaturalit, -ellit, 73, made unnatural, denaturalized. disordinat, 6, 125, 145, inordinate, disordered. disparit, 1, desperate; dispayr. 77, despair. dispensatour, 158, (Fr.) dispenser. displeseir, 93, displeasure, unpleasantness. disponit, 92, disposed of, divided. dispyit, 122, dispite, spite. disrasonabil, 122, unreasonable. dissaitful, 2, deceitful.

dissymilit, 71, dissembled, pretended. distemprit, 37, intemperate.

distitut, 1, destitute.

distribuit, 88, p.t. distribut, 92; p.p. distributed (vb. distribue).

disusit, 17, disused.

diuers, -e, 3, 5, divers, various.

dinidit, 11, divided.

dixtirite, 11, dexterity.

dochtir, 2, 63, daughter.

documentis, 47, 130, teachings, instructions.

doggis, dogis, 39, 57, dogs; 41, a species of artillery.

dois, 139, does.

dolour, 7.

domage, 5, 61, (Fr.) hurt, damage; domageabil, 46, hurtful.

domicillis, 7, dwellings.

dominatour, 79, -ator, 25, -otours, 38, (Fr.) ruler.

done, 38, dank, damp.

dotit, 10, (Fr. doté) endowed.

dottit, 100, doated, was in his dotage.

dou, 39, dove.

doune, 28, down; doune thringis, 19, casts down.

doutit, 21, redoubted, feared; doutles, 17; doutsum, 83, doubtful, dubious.

drau, 38, draw; draucht, 41, draught.

dreid, 95, vb. dread; p. dred, drad, 21, dreaded; dreddour, 70, dreed, 85, dread, terror.

dreuyn, 16, driven, derived dryve, drave, dreuyn).

dreyme, 68, dream.

drog, 81, drogis, 145, (Fr. drogue) drug, -s.

drounit, 38, drowned.

droutht, 24, drought (M.Sc. drouth, drooth).

drug, 151, vb. drudge, dragdryit, 145, dried.

duc, dukis, 4, duke, -s (M.Sc. duik).

dueillis, 45, duel, duelle, 3, dwell.

dukis, 39, ducks (M.Sc. duiks).

dul, 9, vb. to dull, p. dullit, 68, blunted.

dulce, 64, (Fr. douce, doulce) adj. soft, sweet.

dune, 3, done, 38.

dung, 123, knocked, pushed, p.p. of dyng, dang.

duobil, 83, doubil, 159, double.

dur, 65, door (A.S. duru). dyabolic, 72, diabolical.

Dyameid, 156, Diomedes.

dyametre, 48, diameter.

Dyane, 38, Diana.

dyik, 140, a dike, rampart of earth or stone.

dyit, 68, n. diction, vb. to word; dyit, 82, worded, indited. dym, 38, dim.

dymynischid, 175, diminished. dyn, 38, din, confused noise.

eclipis, pl. eclipsis, 56. edeficis, 79.

edropic, (Fr. hydropique) dropsical.

ee, 14, eye; pl. een, 11, ene, 72, eene, 24, eyes.

effeir, to be meet, proportionate; efferis, 150, efferand, 56, proportionate, conformable.

effemenet, 29, effeminate.

effermis, 48, affirms.

efftir, 7, eftir, 113, after; eftiruart, 27, afterward.



eg, 32, egg. egal, 144, (Fr.) equal. Egipt, Egiptiens, 8. eikit, eikkyt, 123, (A.S. eácod) added. eild, 73, old age, eld. eirb, erb, 44, herb. eird, 20, eyrd, 24, earth. eit, eyt, 24, to eat; p.t. eit, 80; p.p. eyttyn, 63. elect, 150, v. p. elected. electuars, 145, electuaries. eleuat, 38, v. p. elevated. ellis, 8, else. emoroyades, 67, emerods, hæmerhoids. empesche, 99, to hinder (Fr.). empire, 48, adj. empyrean. empriour, 25, emperor. ene, 72, eyes. See ee. Eneados, 35, the Æneid. eneme, l, enemei, 111; pl. enemeis, 1, enemy. engel, 89, angel (a coin). engeneret, 153, engendrit, 2, begotten. ennetseidis, 67, anise-seed (Anisum). Ennymes, 66, (Celtic) Inverness. ensens, 7, incense. ensenze, 149, ensign, insignia. entrepricis, 146. entres, 29, entrance. entretenis, 179, entertains. entrit, v. p. entered. ephores, 107, Ephori. Eporite, 84, Epirus. erb, eirb, 67, herb. erl, 63, earl. 65, ermonyie, 37, armonye, harmony; ermonius, 64.

erris, 57, errs. Esaye, 22, Ysaye, 27, Isaiah. escarmuschis, 6, escharmouschis, 79, (Fr.) skirmishes; escharmouschit, 78, skirmished. eschaip, 37, to escape; eschapis, 130; p. eschaipt, 17. eschamit, 43, ashamed. eschet. 133, forfeiture (O.Fr. eschéoir, to fall out, fail). escheu, 90, eschew. esperance, 70, (Fr.) hope. est, 38, east; estin, 61, eastern. estaitis, 2, estates (of the realm). estime, 165, (Fr.) think, estimate: estemeit, estimated. euangel, 33, Gospel. euertione, 1, overthrow. euil, 12, euyl, 83, evil, ill. euir, 2, euyr, 90, ever, always. euoir banes, 20, ivory (bones), (Fr. ivoire). euyn, 43, even, evening. euyn furtht, 159, straightforward. excedis, 8, exceeds. excepand, 95, excepting. excerse, 9, n. and v. exercise, p. excersit. excommunicat, p.p. 87, excommunicated. excusatione, 137, n. excuse. exemnit, 98, examined. exempil, 7, example, instance. Exerxes, Exerxces, 79, Xerxes. experiens, 104; experimentit, 56, experienced. expirit, 68, expired, spent. explane, 27, explain, make clear. expone, 183, expound; expositione, 156. expreme, v. to express, (Fr. exprimer) expremit, 26, expressed.

exquisite, 16, far-fetched, recherché.

exsecut, 2, v. p. executed; exsecutit, 25, exsecutione, 4. extendant, 111, extending.

externe, 3, external, foreign.

extinct, 2, vb. extinguish, 26, extinguished.

extersions, 21.

extre, -e, 48, axle, axle-tree (M. Sc. aixtree).

eycht, 88, eight, eighth.

eyr, pl. eyris, 37, ear, -s.

eyrd, 24, earth.

eyrn, 60, iron (M.Sc. ern).

eyse, 26, ease; eysily, 88.

eyt, 26, vb. pr. & p.t. eat, ate; eyttyn, 63, eaten.

eyttyn, 63, (A.S. coten, Isl. jotun) a giant.

Ezechiel, 82, Ezekiel.

facil, 15, easy, (Fr.) facilnes, 94. faculte, 10, (Fr.) faculty, power.

fader, 93, fadir, 23, father; gen. sing. fadir, 4, 5; faderly, 26, fatherly, 28; fadir-of-lau, 3; fadirin-Gode, 5.

failze, (Fr. faillir) to fail; failzeis, 186, p. failzeit.

faird, 42, passage (Sw. færd, Ger. fahrt, A.S. fyrd).

falcons, 41, a species of cannon of three-inches calibre; the half falcon or fauconneau was about one inch eleven lines in calibre, and 6½ feet long.

faldis, 43, n. folds.

faldomis, 103, n. fathoms.

falou, 182, fellow, companion.

falset, -ed, 181, falsehood.

falt, 142, n. want, failure; faltit, 122, committed a fault, was deficient. fame, 40, (A.S. fám) n. foam.

familiaris, adj. pl. 94, domestics. fantasticnes, 16, fantasy.

fardit, 16, (Fr. fardé) painted, embellished.

farrar, 52, farther.

fasson, -e, -oune, 69, fashion (Fr. facon).

fastan, 80, pres. ple. fasting.

fatigat, 37, p.p. fatigued.

faucht, p. of fecht, fought.

fauoir, 13, favour.

fayr, 8, fair; fayrveil, 18, farewell.

faythtful, 2, faithful.

febil, 22, feeble.
fecht, 148, fight; fechtand, 14,
fighting; p.t. faucht, p.p. foehtyn.

fede, 167, feud, hereditary enmity.

feggis, 80, figs. feild, 13, field.

feit, 121, feet, pl. of fut.

Fekken, 5, Fécamp.

felecite, 108, felicite, 7, (Fr.) happiness.

fellis, 66, fells, hills (Isl. fjeld, Sw. fjæll).

felloune, 39, -one, 14, (Fr.) fierce, cruel.

feltrit, 68, entangled, dishevelled (Fr. feultrer, feltrer).

femmel, 141, (Fr.) female.

fenget, 35, feigned (p. of v. fenge, Fr. feigne).

ferd, 96, ferde, 40, feyrd, 11, fourth.

ferme, 59, (Fr.) adj. firm; n. farm; fermis, 123, farms.

Ferrand, 131, Ferdinand.

fertil, 3, fertile.

feu, 175, few, small, ane feu nummir, a small number.



feueir, 24, fever. feume, 67 (1 misp. for flume, q. v.). fife, 9, fiue, 26, five. fine, 140, **a.** (Fr.) end. fingare, 147, finger. finityuis, 166, adj. pl. frontier. finkil, 67, fennel (Farniculum vulgare, Ælf. Gloss. fyncl). fische, 37, fish. fiue, 26, five. flasche, 41, flesche, 152; flaschar, 129, 162, butcher. fleice, 64, fleise, 148, fleece. fleid, 161, p. of fle, fled; fleis, 60, flet, 63, adj. flat, prosaic, in prose. fleuris, 171, flureise, 38, blossom (M.Sc. flurishen). fleyit, 70, afraid; fleyitnes, 60, fear. floc, 2, flokkis, 24, flock. flotquhaye, 43, float whey, whey brose, "made by boiling whey after it is pressed out of the cheese curds, with a little meal and milk, when a species of very soft curd floats at the top." flouredelicis, 68, fleurs-de-lis. flouyng, 40, flowing. flum, feume, 67, phlegm. flyttyn, 139, scolded, quarrelled, p.p. of fleyte; p.t. flait. fochtyn, 97, p.p. fought. foir, fore, 4. foir bears, 91, predecessors. foirfadirs, 72, forefathers. foirgrandscheir, 3, great-grandfather. foirlend, 41, foreland. foir ra, 40, fore-mast; foir sail, 40. foirsaid, 11, aforesaid. foliful, 126, foolish.

folis, 39, foals. folkis, 38, folk, people, persons. fontane, 21, fountain. forane, 5, forrain, 82, foreign. forduart, 6, forward. forfayr, 65, to miscarry, go to ruin (A.S. forfares). forgearis, 10, forgers; forgit, 89, forged. formit, 11, formed. forrais, 114, forays; forreours, 98, forayers, marauders. forrest, 37, forest. forse, 4, 19. Fortht, 63, Forth. forget, 4, forget. fouer, 34, four. foulis, 39, fowls. found, 63, go (A.S. fundian). fourty, 6, forty. foyrsaid, 69, aforesaid. fra, 4, from. fragil. 35, frail; fragilite, 9, frailty. franche, 21, French. freir, 96, frere, 121, (Fr.) friar; pl. freris, 66. frende, 54, friend. frenetic, 13, frantic; frenyse, 124, frenzy. fresche, 7, fresh. fresis, 59, vb. freezes; p.p. frosyn, freuol, 51, -e, 183, (Fr.) frivolous. frosyn, 59, frozen. frute, 1, fruit. ful, 7, full. fumeterre, 67, Fumitary (Fumaria officinalis). fumis, 38, smoke. fundatione, 97, foundation.

fundin, 60, fundyn, p.p. found. fundit, 129, founded; fundatouris, 129, founders. furneis, 87, vb. furnish. furor, 177, fury. furtht, 1, 60, forth, out. fustean-skonnis, 43, "cakes leavened or puffed up; fustean, soft, elastic, and compressible like cotton down." fut, 20, foot, pl. feit; futsteppis, 148, futtit, 63. futur, 46, future, coming. fyft, 120, fyift, 2, fifth; fyftye, 36, fifty; fyiftein, 139, fifteen. fyir, 28, fire; -slaucht, 60, lightning, also called slew-fire (L.); -speyris, 42, fire spears; -syde, 14. fylit, 42, defiled; fyltht, 12, filth. fynd, 4, find, p.t. fand, p.p. fundyn. fyne, 2, adj. fine; n. 83, end (O.Fr. fine). fyrst, 3, first; fyrst mobil, 48, primum mobile. fysche, 57, fish.

ga, gang, vb. go, gais, 50. Gabine, 93.

gadir, v. gather; p. gadrit, 42, gaddrit, 78, gaddryt, 77, gadthrid, 145 (A.S. gadrian, gaderod).

gait, 175, way, road.

gait, (A.S. gát) n. s. & pl. goat, -s; gait buckis, 58, he-goats; gait horne, 65.

galeis, 102, galleys.

galiasse, 39.

gallandis, 42, gallants.

Gallouaye, 96, Galloway.

gallus, 102, gallows.

galmonding, 66, gambolling (O.Fr. jalme, leg, whence jalmade, gealmade, galmbade).

galzardis, 66, (Fr.) galliards.

gammis, 13, games. ganestand, 175, withstand, oppose. gang, 34, or ga, vh. go, 3 sing. gais; p.t. zeid; p.p. gane, gone, 9. gar, 1, (Dan.) to make, cause, force; p. gart, 5. gardin -ing, -yng, 94, garden. garnison, 5, -soun, 113, (Fr.) garrison. gartan, 148, garter (M.Sc. gairtan). Gascunze, 79, Gascony. gat, 26, got. gaye, 70, gay. gayslingis, 39, goslings. gazophile, 70, treasury. gef, 94, gave. geise, 39, geese (pl. of guise). genner, 153, to generate; p. generit, 38. genoligie, 2, genolligie, 3, genolygie, 68, genealogy. 22, Gentile world, gentilite, heathendom. gentil men, 9; gentrice, 144, gentreis, 128, gentility, gentle rank. geyr, 41, gear. gif, giue, gyf, gyue, vb. give, gifis, 32, giffis, 84; p. gef, 180, gaif; p.p. gyuen. glaid, 85, glad; glaidful, 37, gladsome, joyful. glar, 68, sticky mud (Fr. glaire,

glar, 68, sticky mud (Fr. glaire, slime, ooze, white of an egg).

glaspis, 71, clasps.

glasyn, 148, adj. of glass.

glaykit, 136, glaykyt, 140, light-headed, daft.

gled, 39, (A.S. glida) a kite.

gleu, 68, glue; gleuit, 68, glued.

gloir, 1, gloire, 170, glore, 143, (Fr.) n. glory, rb. to glory, boast, 142; glorius, 16, 66, boastful, vain glorious.

glufe, 110, glove. gode, 2, God; pl. goddis, 7. Godefroid, 3, Godfrey. goilk, 39, (Isl. gouk) the Gowk or Cuckoo. goldin, 7, golden; goldspynk, 39, goldfinch. Gomore, 127, Gomorrah. gomoria, 66 (? misprint for gonnoria), gonorrhœa. gottyn, 128, gotten. gouernance, 3, government; gouernyng, 2. goulmau, 39, the Gull-maw or grey Gull. goune, 142, gown, robe. graif, 175, grave, sagacious. gramariaris, 17, 160, grammarians (dealers in Gramarye). grandscheirs, 151, grandfathers. grathit, 39, made ready, fitted out, accoutred (A.S. geraded). gre, 134, gree, 160, degree, step. Grece, 78, Greice, 14, Greece; greiciens, 87, Grekis, 78. greit, 39, weep, cry. 39, greneserene, green-syren, greenfinch. greu, 94, grew. grit, 3, -e, 4, gryt, 79, great; gritar, 56, greater; gritest, 47. grond, 96, grounde, 22; grondis, 79, foundations; groundit, 130, founded. grouuen, 130, grown. grumis, 67, grooms, lads. gryt, 79, great; grytest, 143, grytumly, 21, greatly. gude, 6, guid, guide, 80, good; guidis, 99, goods; gudnes, 3; Ĭ51, good-looking, gude-lyik, goodly. gudeson, 131, son-in-law, beaufils.

gudscheir, 4, gudschers, 151. grandfather, gutscher. gulset, 67, jaundice (M.Sc. gulsoch, Fr. queule, yellow, A.S. gealucseóc, yellow sickness). gummis, 145, gums. gut, 57, gout. gyf, gyue, 11, vb. give; gyffin, 19, gyuyn, 148, given. gyf, 17, gyue, 75, if. gyft, 7, gift. gylmyr, 66, (Isl. gimbur) ewe in her second year, one that has been twice smeared; fem. of dylmond. gyltin, 63, gilded, gilt. gyrse, 20, grass, (M.Sc. gerss) pl. gyrsis, 67, gyrssis, 37. gyrth, 115, shelter, sanctuary, asylum (A.S. gryth). gyue, give, if; gyuyn, 148, given. habitis, 163, (Fr.) clothes, garments. habitude, 21, (Fr.) custom, habit. hagbutaris, 6, musqueteers. hagbuttis of croche, 41, the Arquebus-a-croc, or arquebus with a hook cast along with the piece, serving to fix it to a tripod or carriage. It varied in size from a small cannon to a musket. haggis, 41, haques or haquebutts, guns with crooked butts, according to 33 Henry VIII. of one yard in length. Half-haggis (demi-haques) were smaller. haif, 118, hef, 13, to have; p. hed, haid. hail, 40, vb. to haul, hale; p. halit. hail, 173, adj. whole (A.S. hal). hail, 73, n. well-being (A.S. hælu); gude hail, 45, good health. hail, 59, n. hail; hailschot, 41.

hailsit, 141, v. p. hailed, saluted

(A.S. hælsod).

hairschip, 23, hayrschip, 5, harrying, plunder, pillage.

haistiar, 36, more hastily; haistyly, 6.

halbert, 70, halbardis, 42, halberd, a long-handled axe.

hald, vb. hold; haldant, 6, holding; haldin, 22, haldyn, 128, held, holden.

halit, 40, hauled.

hammyr, 10, hammer.

hamuart, 97, homeward.

hang, 93, vb. to hang (execute); p. hangit, 97.

harde, 96, heard (p. of heir).

hardyn, 96, sacking. Burns has harn ('Tam o' Shanter').

hardyn pan, 154, harn-pan, skull (M.Sc. herns, hairns, brains).

hareyt, 135, harried, spoiled.

hart, 14, heart; hartly, 7, cordial.

Hasse, 168, Hesse.

haszarde, 14, chance.

hatrent, 45, heytrent, 174, hatred.

hauy, 21, heavy; hauyar, 73, heavier; hauyly, 25, heavily.

hauyn, 3, heaven.

hayr, 40, hair.

hayr ryim, 59, hoar rime, hoarfrost.

hede, 22, n. head; vb. to behead, p. hedit, 95; hede-verkis, 37, head aches.

hees, 15, has.

hef, 13, vb. to have; heffand, 2, having; hed, 5; hes, 1.

heir, 16, adv. here.

heir, 59, vb. to hear, p. hard, 59.

heise, 40, to hoist, heave; heisau, 59, ? hoist all!

helytropium, 57, heliotrope.

hemispere, 42, hemespeir, 38.

hennis, 39, hens, fowls,

herberye, 155, (A.S. hereberge) harbour, refuge, place of shelter.

herd, 13, vb. heard.

heretage, 3; heritour, 3, heir, heiress.

heroyque, 2, heroic.

herrons, 39, herons.

heruest hog, 66, a young sheep after smearing at end of harvest, when it ceases to be a lamb.

hes, 1, has.

heuch, 39, a steep rugged valley, a gill, or ravine.

heyde, 162, vb. behead, p. hedit, 95.

heyt, 24, n. heat; 67, adj. hot (M.Sc. het).

heytes, 143, vb. hates.

heytrent, 174, hatred.

hicht, 6, n. height; vb. to raise, p. hichtit, raised.

hie, 38, high; hiear, 40, higher. Hieremye, 25, Jeremiah.

Hierusalem, 25, Jerusalem.

hing, 57, hyng, 138, vb. hang; hingand, 39, hanging; p.t. hang, p.p. hungyn.

hird, 28, 42, shepherd, keeper of cattle of any kind.

hisband, 2, husband.

his self, 138, himself.

historiagrephours, 4, historigraphours, 7, historians.

hog, 66, a young sheep between first and second smearings, a oneyear-old.

hoilsum, 1, wholesome.

hola bar, 40 (Leyden suggests

Holla! bar the capstan).

holt, 40, 7 halt.

honest, 79, honourable.

honorificabilitudinity, 16.

hoppand, 37, hopping.

Horasse, 66, Horace. horse, pl. 38, horses, M.Sc. hors. host, 122, the consecrated Host. hoste, 67, (Sw. hosta) a cough. hou, 2, how. hou, 39, 66, adj. hollow, sunken. hounting, 13, hunting. hundretht, 21, hundred. houshald, 145, household. huddit, 39, hooded. humiditeis, 38, moistures. humil, 106, (Fr.) humble. hurlis, 39, n. hurls, rushes. hychtit, 123, raised in price. hyl, hil, 10, hill. hym, him, 118, ref. himself. hyngis, 138, vb. hangs. hyr, her. hyrdis, 98, shepherds.

Iacopyne, 121, Jacobin. iakkis, 163, mail jackets. iangil, 39, jangle, the cry of the iargolyne, 39, jargoning, chattering. Ieremie, 82, Jeremiah. Ieuis, 2, Jews. Iherusalem, 3, Jerusalem. Ihesus, 35, Jesus. Ihone, 5, John. ile, 82, n. isle. ilk, 11, each; ilkane, 12, every one. illustir, 1, (Fr.) illustrious. imbassadre. 110. ambassador: imbassadouris, 90. impung, 12, impugn. impedimentis, 130. imperiour, 181, emperor.

impesche, 130, (Fr. empesche) hinder, prevent, p.t. impeschit, 4. importabil, adj. unbearable. in = into, 33, 133, 145. inhassadours, 112, ambassadors. inche, 96, n. pl. inches. inciuil, 45, -e, 128, uncivilized. incontinent, (Fr.) adv. immediately. incredule, 27, 186, infidel, faithless; incrudilite, 165, infidelity. incressis, 2, vb. increases, incressyng, 20. Inde, 2, India. indifferent, 184, neutral. indroctryne, 14, vb. teach, inindole, 126, (L. indoles) adj. well disposed. inducit, 8, p.p. induced. induris, 3, endures; indurit, 9. induring, 31, 181, prep. during. inexorbitant, 21, adj. exorbitant. infang and outfang, 106. the auld lawis of the Brittons made by King Edward, infang thiefe is a liberty or power pertaining to him quha is infeft therewith, to cognosce upon thieft committed by his awin man, takin within his awin dominion and landis; and outfang thiefe is an foran thefe, quha cums fra anuther man's land or jurisdiction, and is takin and apprehended withtin the lands pertenand to him quha is infeft with the liberty." Skene. infekk, vb. infect; infekkit, 38, infected. infideil, 3, faithless; infidilite, 164 inflam, 86, vb. inflame. Ingland, England; inglis, English. ingnorant, 159, ignorant; pl. ingnorans, 82, ignorant people.

ingrat, 71, ingrate, 20, ungrateful. ingyne, 4, 46, (L. ingenium)

genius, wit, intellect.

inhabit, 20, 82, p.p. inhabited; inhabitans, 93, inhabitaris, 117, inhabitants.

inhabitabil, 28, 98, not habitable, uninhabitable.

iniuris, 141, injuries.

innocentis, 130, innocents.

insaciabil, 34, insatiable.

inspirit, 2, p.p. inspired.

instantly, 169, adv. at this instant, at present.

institut, 8, v.p. instituted.

intend, 88, vb. intend, contrive, institute; p.t. intend, 96, intendit, 2, 85.

interpreit, 17, 83, v.p. interpreted. intestynis, 167, adj. pl.

inuartly, 73, inwardly.

inuictissime, 4, most unconquerable.

inutil, 123, (Fr. *inutile*) useless. inuy, 12, envy, -ful, 9, envious. Iosue, 76, Joshua.

iournais, 20, journeys,

iryn, 114, adj. made of iron (yrn).

Isbosetht, 120, Ishbosheth.

ische, 101, (L. exire, Fr. issir, ussir) to come out, issue; ischit, 177, isching, 98, ischyng, 99.

Iude, 25, Judah; Iudia, 4, Judea; Iueis, 82, Jews.

iuge, 3, (Fr.) judge; iugit, 9, judged.

iune, 37, to join; iunit, 177, joined; iunyng, 14, joining.

iuris-consultours, 144, legal counsel.

iustand, 58, pr. ple. jousting, fencing. kar hand, 115, left hand (Celt.

kebbis, 66, "ewes whose lambs have died early and have been allowed to go yeild." L.

keip, keyp, 78, keep; kepit, 3,

keist, 154, 175, vb. p.t. of cast.

kekkyl, 39, cackle.

ken, 143, to know.

knaif, 104, knave.

knau, vb. know, p. kneu, p.p. knauen, 135, know; knaulage, 14. knychthed, 148, knighthood.

knyf, 10, knife.

kou, 135, cow; pl. ky, 42, kine. kyl, 39, kiln.

kyn, 104, kin.

kyng, 89, kying, 2, king.

Kynt, 104, Kent.

kyrk, 163, (A.S. cyrce) church.

kyrn, 43, (A.S. eyrn) churn.

kyrnellis, 80, kernels kyttil, 66, vb. tickle.

ladeis, 11, ladies.

laif, 40, 66, remainder (A.S. láf, M.Sc. laive).

laitly, 5, lately.

landrusche, 39, landslip.

landuart, 43, 67, landward, inland, rural.

lang, 32, long.

langage, 16, (Fr.) language.

langorius, 1, languid, affected with languor.

langsyne, 154, long ago, long since.

lang-tailit, 16, long-tailed.

lard, 103, n. laird (A.S. hláford, O.E. lauerd).

lardit, 16, p.p. stuffed.

large, 97, *adv.* at lurge. lasche, 146, (Fr.) coward, cowardly. laszar, 158, n. leisure. lat, 40, vb. let; p.t. leit. Latyn, latyne, 12, lateen, lating, 66, 67, Latin. lau, 6, law. lauar, 7, laver. laubeir, 96, laubir, 6, laubyr, 123, labour; lauberar, 137, labourer. laucht, vb. laugh, p.t. leuch, 153, leucht, 169, laughed (M.Sc. leuch); p.p. leuchyn. lauerok, 39, lark, laiverock (A.S. laferc). laure, laury(r)e, 60, laurel. learis, 83, liars. leaue, 139, leave. lecens, 146, licence. leiful, 77, 164, = leaveful, allow-

able, permissible.

leit, 97, p.t. of lat, let. leiuit, 65, v.p. left.

lemmen, 64, lemman (A.S. leof-

len, 124, vb. lend; p. lent, 89 (A.S. len).

les, 4, 9, 57, less.

letteral, 29, literal.

leuart, 41, leeward.

leuerairis, 148, liveries.

Leuitic, 23, Leviticus.

leuk, 30, look; leukand, 154, looking; leukyt, 60, looked.

leuyr, 134, 140, (A.S. leofre) liefer, rather.

leve rig, 42, lea ridge; "a lea is a piece of flat arable land which has lain long in grass." L.

leynand, 120, leaning.

leyrne, 8, 14, to learn, to teach; leyrnit, 182, taught.

leysingis, 45, n. lies. levuis, 1, leaves. libedeneus, 155, libidinous. liberalis, 158, adj. pl. liberal. libertee, 4, liberty. Libie, 80, Lybia. Lidie, 83, Lydia. lille, 66, lily. linche, 41, "linch-pin or lins-pin

for belaying the ropes on." L. lingnis, 34, lines.

listis, 27, vb. lists, pleases. loftit, 96, lofted, cieled.

logicinaris, 183, logicians. lokkyt, 70, locked.

lond, 90, land.

longinquite, 4, (Fr.) far distance. lope, 151, vb. leap; lopene, 66, leaping (M.Sc. lowp, lowpin').

Loran, 4, Lorraine; in M.Sc. Deloraine is pronounced Delóran.

lossit, 108, lost.

Lotht, 127, Lot.

lou, 39, n. lowing.

loue, 130, (Fr.) praise; louyng, 182, praising; louit, 166, praised. loue, 3, love; louyng, 133; louit, 131, loved.

loupe, 103, n. loop.

louse, 121, vb. loose (M.Sc. lowse).

ludgens, 43, lodgings.

lufe, 40, luff, loof.

lufe, 65, n. love.

lug, 43, luggis, 64, handles, ears, properly of a thing (that has to be lugged) or an animal, extended also in Sc. to persons.

lukit, 120, v. p. looked.

lustrant, 38, pr. ple. shining.

luxure, 34, luxury.

ly, lyis, 4, vb. lie; lyand, 121, lying, p.t. lay, p.p. lyne.

tht. ntis, 67, lungs. chtlye, -lie, -leis, 128, vb. to make light of, to slight. lyf, 123, lyif, 100, lyue, 107, vb. to live. lyffing, 90, lyuing, 8, living. lyft, 58, 107, the sky (A.S. lyft). lyif, 35, lyf, lyfe, lyue, n. life; pl. lyifis, 137, lyiffis, 101, lives. lyik, 5, lyk, 78, like. lyme, 41, lime. lyne, 48, line. lyntht, 81, length. lyntquhit, 39, the linnet. lynyalye, 40, lineally. lyon, 68, 141, lion. lyue, 35, n. life, vb. live; lyuit, 6, lived, lyuing, 8, lyuyngs, 73. lynyr, 67, n. liver.

Machabeis, 75, Maccabees.

machine, 3, the structure, fabric.

maculat, 150, p.p. spotted.

Madynhayr, 67, Maidenhair (Adiantum?).

mageste, 26, -tie, 27, majesty.

magnanime, 1, (Fr.) magnanimous.

maid, 6, made.

mail, 141, male.

mail, 141, male.

mail, 1, 8, adv. more; 14, adj.

greater; mair haistiar, 54; sometimes we find moir.

maist, most, 3; adj. greatest, 16, 66.

maister, 87, (O.F. maistre) master. mait, 41, n. mate.

mak, 7, vb. make; makkis, 6, makand, 93, making; p. maid, 78. maleis, 115, -eise, 30, malice.
maling, 30, to malign.
malis, 123, mailings, small farms;
"a cow's mail, the rent of a cow's
walk or grass." L.
maltalent, 22, (Fr.) ill will, spite.
malnersatione, 160, bad conduct.

maluersatione, 160, bad conduct. man, 104, vb. must (Isl. mon, Dan. man).

mane, 95, main; mane-landis, 23, interior districts; mane-ra, 40, ainmast.

r icir, 8, maneyrs, 101, man-3r, -8.

ma shede, 27, manhood.

ma lifest, 8, p.p. manifested.

manneist, 102, -iest, 125, menaced; manessing, 140, threatening.

mantillis, 41, (Fr. mantelets)
large shields borne before archers
at sieges, or fixed on ships as a
covert for archers.

Marbyr, 129, marble (Fr. marbre). Marc, 8, Mark.

marcat, 159, market.

marchand, -ant, 10, (Fr.) merchant; marchandres, -reis, 69, 123, merchandise, traffic.

marchis, 166, marche, 38, (A.S. meurc) marches, border.

mareit, 63, married.

margareit, 1, (Gr. μαργαριτα, A.S. meregrót) pearl.

marmadyn, 64, mermaid.

marrou, 173, marrow, match.

Marse, 96, the Merse, Berwickshire.

marthirs, 183, martyrs.

marynel, 10, -nalis, 40, mariner, -s. mas, 33, masse, 96, mass; massife, 59, massive.

mater, 7, matter.

mathematikis, 47, adj. pl. mathematical.

Mathou, 32, Matthew. matutine, 38, early in the mornmaucht, 40, (A.S. meaht, Ger. macht) might, power. maueis, 39, the mavis or thrush. maye, 29, (A.S. má) more, plures. mayr, 140, (A.S. már) more, plus. mecanyc, -yke, 25, 8, mechanic, -al. Medas, 178, Midas. Medicinaris. 122. physicians, medycine, 23. medo, 66, meadow. meduart, 42, meadwort, meadowsweet (A.S. meduwyrt). Meid, 27, Media. meit, 135, meyt, 12, food. mekil, mekill, 7, 79, (A.S. mycel) great, much. mel, 15, (Fr. mêler) to mix, meddle. melancolic, 61, melancolius, 7, adj. melancholy. melt, 64, (A.S. milte) the spleen. membris, 67, members, limbs. memor, -e, 5, 2, (Fr. mémoire) memory. Menasses, 77, Manasseh. menassing, 24, threatening. menis, 81, mennis, 1, men's. menit, 64, meant. menstralye, 65, minstrelsy. menteine, 104, vb. maintain; p. menteinit, 19. mercat, 149, marcat, 159, mercattis, 106, market, -s. merit, 134, vb. p. merited. merk, 123, mark. merle, 39, (Fr.) the blackbird. Merlyne, 84, Merlin. meruel, 6, marvel; mcruclous, 53, marvellous.

messager, -anger, -enger, 94. Metredates, 3, Mithridates. methamatic, 62, mathematical. mettal, 19, metal, material, stuff. mettigat, 130, vb. mitigate. meydvyf, 129, midwife. meyris, 39, mares. meyt, 12, food. middis, 69, midst. mirknes, 54, darkness. mirrour, 14, mirror. mischance, 7, bad fortune. misericord, 72, (Fr.) mercy. miserite, 92, misire, 72, misery. misprisis, 28, (Fr. mesprise) despises. misteous, 85, dim, misty, mystic. mistir, 36, (Fr. mestier) need; mistirful, 125, needy, wretched. mittygat, 171, 56, mitigate. mixtions, 80, mixtures. mo, 39, to low as a cow (M.Sc. moo). moir, 55, 66, = mair, more. Moises, 106, Moyses, 24, Moses. moist, 78, = maist, most. mok, 39, vb. mock. monarche, -is, 21, monarchy, -ies. moneth, 35, montht, 45, monetht, 103, (A.S. mona's) month. monolog, 37, monologue. 140, combinations, monopoles, trades' unions. monstir, 63, monster. montane, 37, -anis, 2, mountain, -s. mony, 5, (A.S. monig) many. Mordocheus, 2, Mordecai. morne, the, 83, to-morrow. mortel, 84, mortal; mortalite, 1. mortife, 155, vb. mortify; p.

#### GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

mortefeit, 34, mortifet, 109, mortifeit, 16.

motione, 27, n. motive.

mouiabil, 179, moveable.

mouimentis, 46, motions.

mouit, 2, moved; mouyng, 47, moving.

mude, 40, (A.S. mód, Ger. Muth) mood, courage, pith.

muguart, 67, mugwort (Artemisia campestris, A.S. mugwyrt).

muis, 113, (Fr. muids, Lat. modius) bushels, measures, mows. multiplie, n. 15, 23, multitude.

mune, 47, moon.

munetis, munitis, 50, minutes.

murdresaris, 159, (Fr. meurtrisseur) murderers; 41, a species of cannon of large size.

murmerit, 183, murmured.

murn, 169, mourn.

mussilis, 57, mussels.

mutulat, 183, p.p. mutilated.

muuyng, 48, ger. moving.

mycht, 3, might; mychty, 25, mighty.

myddil, 11, middle.

myddyng, 12, (Dan. mögdynge) midden, dunghill.

mydvay, 53, midway.

myl, 64, mill.

myle, 16, mile.

mylk, 42, milk.

myrk, 140, dark (A.S. myrc).

myrtht, 39, myrrynes, 43, mirth. myscheif, 58, mischief.

myskend, 70, mistaken, failed to recognize.

mysknaulage, 27, misknowledge, mistaken notion.

myst, 59, mist.

mystir, 161, need. See mistir.

myxt, 14, mixed. myzen, 41, mizen.

na, nay, no, adj. no, 3, 7, 10, 94. na, 100, conj. nor.

naikyt, 92, naykit, 16, naked. namis, 8, names.

nane, 24, none, 7.

natour, 106, natur, 141, nature.

natyf, 86, -if, 90, (Fr.) -iue, 3, tive, natural.

nauen, 91, navy, shipping.

naything, 171, nothing.

neb, pl. nebbis, 72, (A.S. neb) bill, -s.

necessair, -e, 7, 9, (Fr.) necessary. nechir, 39, to nicker (frequentative of neigh).

neclegens, 72, negligence.

nee, 39, vb. neigh.

neidforse, on, 67, 163, of necessity, of compulsion.

neir, 6, near; comp. nerar, 52, nixt, nyxt, 96.

neiris, 67, kidneys; in M.Sc. by frequent loss of initial n, eirs, a neir becoming an eir; comp. a nadder and an adder.

neinyr, 9, never.

nerar, 52, nearer.

neu, new; neu maid, 98, newmade.

neukyt, 54, nooked, cornered.

neuo, 76, (Fr. neveu, nevo) nephew.

neureis, 123, vb. nourish; neuresing, 45; p. neurest, 14, neurist, 33, neurissit, 181.

neuyr, neuir, neiuyr, 9, never.

nixt, 96, next.

nobil, 2, noble; nobilnes, 4, nobilitie, 1.

nocht, 1, not, nothing.

nochtheles, 2, nevertheless. noisum, 62. nok, 41, nook, corner. nolt, 2, sing. and pl. ox, oxen (A.S. neat, Isl. naut). nor, conj. than after comparative, 3; nor, 6, 23. Normandis, 85, Normans. Norroua, Norrouay, 63, Norway. northt, 37; northin, 39, northern; northtest, 38, N.E.; nortuest, 62, N.W. Northumyrland, 97. not, 38, n. note. nothir, 39, 45, neither. nou, 1, now. nou, 38. nouelles, nouuellis, 119, (Fr.) news. noyis, 39, noise. noysum, 61, noisum, 62. Numance, 44, Numantia. numir, 57, nummir, 6, nummer, 93, number. nureseis, nuresant, 61, nourishes, nycht, -is, 47, night, -s; nychtingal, 39. nychtbour, 25, neighbour. nyne, 4, nine ; nynt, -e, ninth. nyxt, 18, next.

obediens, 7, obedience.
obfusquis, 56, vb. darkens.
obleis, oblice, 164, vb. oblige;
p.p. oblist, 8, obliged.
obstinatione, 26, obstinacy.
occiane, 80, ocean.
occident, 46, west.
occupeit, 7, occupied.
occurit, 1, occurred.
och, 41, oh!

odoreferant, 37, odoriferous. offrandis, 8, offerings; offrit, 8, offered. oft. 58, often. oistirs, 57, oysters. Olimp, 3, 32, Olympus, heaven. Oliphernes, 3, Holophernes. oliue, 57, olive. onabil. 9. unable. onbaykin, 46, unbaked. onbridilit, 92, unbridled. oncertane, 36, uncertain. onconsumyt, 46, unconsumed. oncoutht, 16, uncouth, strange, foreign. oncunget, 109, uncoined. ondantit, 128, untamed. onexpert, 159, inexperienced. onfaythtful, 22, unfaithful. ongrit, 113, ungreat, small. oniust, 2, unjust. onknauen, 21, unknown. onleful, 166, unlawful, onmauen, 66, unmown. onmeltit, 59, unmelted. onmercyful, 23, unmerciful. onmontabil, 98, insurmountable. onnatural, 37, unnatural. onnumerabil, 83, innumerable. onpossibil, 77, impossible. onpuneist, 138, unpunished. onrasonabil, 125, unreasonable. onremedabil, 8, irremediable. onstabil, 54, unstable. onsyd, 159, aside. onutil, 28, (Fr. inutile) useless. ony, 96, any. or, prep. ere, before, 15. ordand, vb. p. 11, 54, ordained, ordered.

ordinans, -ance, -ances, 8, 9, ordonnance, 78, n. s. & pl. ordinances, orders. ordour, 13, order; ordoryng, 13. orient, 46, east. orison, 138, oration. oriszone, 37, horizon. oster, 57, osier. oszil, 39, the ouzle, mistle thrush, or dipper. ouer, prep. over; adv. too, too much, 63, 135. ouergane, 30, past, overgone. ouerset, 126, p.p. overborne. oultraige, 186, (Fr. oultrage) outrage; oultrageus, 80, outrageous. oure, I, our. outfang, 106. See Infang. outuartly, 73, outwardly. oxee, 39, the ox-eye titmouse.

pace, 3, peace; pacebil, 3, pacibil, 87, peaceable; paciable, 79. pactione, 132, n. compact. pail, 38, adj. pale. pailzons, 60, 97, pavilions, tents. paleis, 42, palace, pl. palecis, 43. palmis, 7, palms. pane, 3, pain. pape, 165, (Fr.) pope. parchance, 9, perhaps. paris, -e, pl. -isis, 167, parish, -es. Parisiens, 84, Parisians. parpetrat, 125, vb. perpetrate. parsecut, -tione, 123, persecute, -tion. parson, 55, persone, 15, person. partan, 159, n. (Celt.) a crab. partenis, 98, (Fr. partenir) pertains, belongs. participant, 131, pr. p. participating.

particular, 79, private, individual; particular profit = private interest; particularite, 158. partit, 21, parted. part-takers, 77. pas, 6, vb. pass, pace; p. past. passis, 90, passages, places. pastance, 64, (Fr. passetems) pastime. pasuolans, 41, (Fr. passevolans) a small species of artillery. 5, vb. p. t. of put. patrone, 11, pattern. paueis, -esis, 41, (Fr. pavoises) large shields behind which archers were stationed. pauuans, 66, dances ; see p. xciii. paynt, 14, paint; payntit, 14, painted; payntur, 11, painter. Peblis, 143, Peebles. pece, 151, peces, -is, 7, 10, piece, -s. penneis, 8, pence. pepil, 1, people; pepulus, 21. perce, 87, pierce. perdone, 119, pardon. perdurabil, 20, lasting, permanent. perell, 130, peril. peremptoir, 6, (Fr.) peremptory. pereseis, 159, perishes. perfyit, 20, perfect; perfytlyle, 3. perise, 24, perreis, 73, (Fr. perisse) vb. to perish. perlament, 96, perliament, 93. perle, 1, (Fr.) pearl. permittit, 27, permitted. pernasus, 10, Parnassus. perpend, 85, 158, vb. ponder in mind. perpetrat, p.p. 130, perpetrated. Pers, 83, Perse, 7, Persia; Persan, 8, Persian.

persauand, 13, perceiving. perseuand, 29, pursuing. perspectione, 72, n. view, sight. perturbit, 68, disturbed. peruerst, 6, 32, p.p. perverted. peste, (Fr.) n. the plague. pestelens, 29, pestilence. peu, 39, the plaintive cry of young fowls. Pharaon, 147, Pharaoh. phicisians, 122, physicians. Philistiens, 76, Philistines, philosophe, 10. philosophy; philosophour, 13, philosopher. phisic, 46, Natural Science. piete, 104, pity; pieteabil, 126. piettis, 39, magpies, pyots. pikis, 148, n. pricks, spines. pikkis, 42, pikes. pillaris, 20, pillars. Pillion, 63, Pelion. Pirrus, 84, Pyrrhus. pissance, 7, puissans, sance, 90, (Fr.) power. 92, puispistil, 3, epistle. pitteus, 93, piteous. plag, 24, -is, 1, plague, -s. plait, playt, playit, 65, played. plane, 23, plain. planeit, -etis, 38, planet, -s. plasmatour, 27, creator. plat, 70, flat; platfut, 66, flatfoot. plesand, 99, pleasant. pleseirs, 3, pleasures. pleys, 167, n. pl. pleas (in law). pleyse, 20, please; pleysis, 29, pleysand, 11, 12, pleasant. Plutarque, 2, Plutarch. 66, poiet, 43, poietis, -ettis, poet, -s; poietical, 82.

policie, 1, pollice, 128. politiques, 10, n. pl. politics. Pont, 80, Pontus. popil, 57, poplar tree. port, 131, portis. 20, (Fr.) gate, -s. pose, 89, n. private purse, secret treasure. posses, 3, possess; possessand, 23, possessing; p. possest, 178. possibilite, 137, power, ability. post, 109. potent, 182, n. (Fr.) a stake; 3, adj. powerful. potestatis, 125, authorities. pottis, 19, pots. pouerte, 7, poverty poure, 133, poor. poysont, 122, poisoned. practic, 139, n. practice. practicians, 62, practitioners. practikyt, 85, practised. pray, 2, n, prey. prayand, 8, praying. precedent, 9, 58, pr. ple. preceding. precheours, 25, preachers prectykit, 105, practised. predeful, 152, proud, haughty. preffer, vb. neut. 43, 186, to outweigh, excel, surpass. preif, 55, vb. prove; preuis, 51, proves. prelat, 5, prelate. prencipal, 43, principal. preparatiue, 12, n. preparation. presens, 7, presence. presentlye, 3, at present, now. presone, 162, vh. to imprison: presonyng, 118. prestis, 87, priests.

pretoir, 147, pretor; pretoral, 43. prettie, 68, prettik, 14, (Fr. pratique) practice, practise; p. prettikyt, -ikit, -ekyt, -ykit, 15, 46, practised. preua, 89, preue, 82, privy, private. preuis, 51, vb. proves; p. preuit. pricis, 41, (Fr. prises) captures, takes, prizes. pridis, 154, vb. prides, boasts. prikkyng, 114, spurring, riding. princes, -se, -essis, 2, 30, princess, -es. princis, 3, pl. of prince; gen. pl. prisit, 155, praised. priuitate, 111, private counsel. probatione, 3, 117, a proof. procedit, 1. proces, 167, n. pl. processes (in prochane, 4, (Fr. prochain) neighbouring. procreat, p.p. 56, begotten. prodig, 142, adj. prodigal. prodigeis, 58, prodigies. proditione, 72, betrayal, treachery. profundly, 13. progenituris, 2. prolations, 37, continuations. prolixt, 4, prolix. prolog, 8, -e, 9, prologue. promes, 75, n. promessis, 90, promise, -s. promes, -se, vb. promise; promeist, 26, promest, 11, promised. promissione, 164, promit, 181, n. promise. promoue, vb. promote; p.p. promouit, 142. pronosticatis, 58, prognosticates.

pronuncit, 64, pronounced.

prophane, 82, profane. prophesye, 7, prophecy. prophetize, to prophesy; prophetizit, 22, prophetyszit, 46, prophesied (Fr. prophétiser). propir, propyr, (Fr. propre, L. proprius) own, personal; in propyr person, in proprid persond, 163. propreteis, 11, properties, characteristics. propriete, 32, (Fr.) proprete, 162, property. propungnatours, 4, defenders. prospir, 9, prosperous. proues, 4, prowess. prouest, 8, provost, prefect. prouidit, 12, provided. prouision, 13, pre-arrangement. prudens, 2, prudence. Ptholome, 62, Ptolemy. puberte, 29, puberty. pulce, vb. pulcis, 139, pulsis, 125, (Fr. poulser, pousser) push, drive. puldir, 21, 42; powder, dust (O.Fr. pouldre). pundfald, 98, pound, poundfold. puneis, -e, vb. punish; p.p. punest, 118. punirite, 142, penury punition, 27, (Fr.) punishment. pupil, 3, child. purches, 5, 73, vb. to get, procure, acquire. pure, 2, poor. purgit, 9, purged. purposis, 17, propositions. put, 32, vb. put; p.t. pat, 110; p.p. put. pyne, 110, n. pain, torment.

quaik, 39, vb. quack as a duck. qualifeit, 12, qualified. qualite, 7. quantite, 7. querellis, 89, (Fr.) quarrels. quha, interrog. & rel. who, 3, 87; gen. quhais, 82, whose; acc. quham, quhome, 90, whom. quhairbe, 82, whereby. quhap, 39, the curlew (M.Sc. whaup). quhar, 3, where. quharfor, 2, wherefore. quhaye, 43, whey. quhelpis, 73, whelps. quhen, 2, when. quhiddir, 23, 138, whether. quhil, 8, till, until. quhilk, interrog. & rel. 1, which; pl. quhilkis, lesquels, which. quhilk, 39, the cry of the gosling. quhissil, whistle; quhissilit, 39, quhislit, 40, whistled. quhome, 90, = quham.quhou, 3, 75, how. guhoubeit, 5, howbeit, howsoever. quhryne, 39, to squeak as a pig. quhy, 55, why. quhyt, 15, white. quod, 155, quoth, said. quyk, 17, quick.

ra, rai, 40, mast, sailyard; raibandis, 40, robbins which fasten the sail to the yards. raggit, 69, ragged. raid, 63, p.t. of ride, = rode. raif, 73, vb. reive, spoil; n. robbery, plunder. rair, 39, vb. roar. rais, 42, raise, 87, 173, p.t. of rise, = rose. raison, 98, raisone, 73, rason, 1, (Fr.) reason.

rammasche, 38, (Fr. rammassé) collected. rammel, 37, (Fr. ramel, rameux) branchy. rampand, 68, rampant. randir, vb. render; reflexively randir them, 77, surrender (Fr. se rendre); p. randrit, 1, 113, surrendered. rane, 26, rain. rang, 43, p.t. of ryng. rasche, 125, to make forcible exertion, to pull, rush. raschis, 42, 67, (A.S. ræsce) rushes. rason, 1, raison, 15, (Fr.) reason. rau, 59, raw. rauand, 1, rauisant, 2, ravening. rauynis, 39, n. ravens. realmys, 9, n. realms. reche, 127, rich; reches, rechesse, 90, riches. recontrit, 7, 114, encountered. recordar, 63, a musical instrument; see p. xcii. red, 127, reid, vb. pr. to read; p.p. read, 16, 85; redar, 8, reader; reding, 23. reddy, 1, ready. rede, 37, red; redeschank, 39. redond, 38, redound, re-echo. refectione, 8, refreshment. reft, 76, 147, reft, tore, p.t. of raif. regement, 2, (Fr.) rule, governrehers, -e, 4, 5; rehearse, p. rehersit. reid, 90, vb. to read; p. red, 23. reid, 64, n. reed. reid, 117, p.t. of ride, = rode.

reik, 42, smoke.

remane, 3, vb. remain; p. re-

manit, 13, remanent, 23, 94, n. & | adj. remnant, remainder. remeid, 34, n. remedy; remeide, rememorant, 175, mindful. rememorance, 2, n. remembrance. renegat, 104, renegant, 74, renegade. renforsit, 6, reinforced. renunce, 179, renounce. renge, vb. to rein. repreif, vb. 12, reprove; n. 122, reproof. repreme, 154, vb. (Fr. reprimer) repress. reprocha, 127, n.; reproche, 153, eb. reproach. repulsit, 70, repelled. repungnant, 112, repugnant. reput, -e, 4, 117, p.p. reputed. resaue, 5, vb. receive; p. resauit, 87. resingis, 179, resigns. reskeu, 98, 175, rescue. responce, 183, response. retere, 15, vb. retire, withdraw, p. reterit. retorik, 11, Rhetoric. retourne, 12, return. reu, 80, the herb Rue. reu, 182, reuis, 76, (Fr. rue) street, -s. reueir, -e, 37, 7, river. reuelen, 109, n. revealing, revelareuerens, 12, reverence. reul, 183, rule. reuolve, 23, revolve. reuyn, 16, p.p. riven. reyde, 63, red. reyme, 42, (A.S. ream) cream.

ridars, 74, riders, troopers.

ring, ryng, 26, 5, vb. to reign; p.t. rang, p.p. rung. ring, n. reign. robeen, 39, the robin. roial, 126, ryal, 117, royal. rond, 51, round. rondellis, 42, (Fr rondelles) "small round targets, usually borne by horsemen." L. ropeen, 39, hoarse crying (A.S. hreop, Isl. hropja, Dutch roepen). rotche, 38, roche, 99, (Fr. roche) rock. roustit, 69, rusted. roy, 63, (Fr.) king. rudirman, 41, helmsman. rustical, 128, rural, rustic. rute, 66, pl. rutes, 144, root, -8; rutit, 73, rooted. ruuyne, 19, ruyne, 80, ruin. ry caikis, 43, rye cakes. ryal, 117, royal. rycht, 1, right. rychteous, 3, righteous. ryde, vb. ride; ryding, 14; p.t. raid, reid, p.p. rydden. ryes, ryise, 25, 87, vb. rise; p.t. rais, reyse, p.p. rysen. ryim, 59, (A.S. hrim) rime, hoarfrost. ryme, 139, rhyme. ryn, 57, 139, vb. run; p.t. ran, p.p. run. ryng, n. 63, reign. ryue, 21, vb. rive, tear; p.t. reft, p.p. reuyn. sa, 7, so. sa mony that, 163, as many as.

sac, 33, sack.

sacrefeis, 7, sacrifice.

saceat, 96, saciat, 81, satiated.

sad, 39, 68, sad, settled down, composed (A.S. sæd); sadnes, 37, composure.

sai, vb. say; sais, 7.

saidis, 167, adj. pl. said, aforesaid (Fr. les dits).

saidlyt, 151, saddled.

saif, saue, vb. 114, to save. saifly, 100.

saikyrs, 41, "a species of cannon smaller than a demi-culverine much used in sieges, named like the faucon from a species of hawk." L.

sair, 67, 92, sore, very much (A.S. sár, Ger. sekr).

saison, 141, (Fr.) season.

sakket, -ttis, 138, a little sack, wallet.

sal, 4, sall, 12, vb. shall, p. suld. Salamon, 34, Solomon.

saluiour, 8, saviour.

salut, -e, 72, 116, (Fr.) health, welfare.

salutiffere, 1, healthful, salutary. sam, samyn, 12, sammyn, 146, same.

sameikil, 188, so much.

sanct, 32, saint.

sanctuar, 76, sanctuary.

sang, 39, n. song.

sapiens, 43, wisdom; sapientis, 142, sages.

sarabossa, 40, "a sea cheer, 1 'ser' the bus a." L.

sark, 80, (A.S. syrce, serce) shirt. Sarrasyns, 164, Saracens.

saruandis, 61, servants.

satesfe, p.p. satesfet, fit, 96, 99, satisfied.

Sathan, 27, Satan.

sau, 14, vb. p. of see.

sau, 24, vb. sow; sauen, 29, sown. | scriptur, 31, -our, 32, scripture.

saue, 74, 107, saife, adj. safe. saue, 24, vb. save. saul, 35, -is, 76, (A.S. sawel) soul. -s. sauuage, 2, (Fr.) savage. sax, 107, six; saxt, 86, sixth. scabbit, 67, scabbed. scarmouche, 114, (Fr.) skirmish. schaddou, 34, shadow. schaik, 51, vb. shake, p.t. schuke. schame, 7, shame. schapis, 91, n. shapes. schank, 40, shank, stalk, handle. schau, 13, vb. show p.t. scheu, 104, p.p. schauen, 105. sche, 11, scho, pron. she.

scheaip, 38, shape.

scheildis, 148, shields.

scheip, 24, n. s. & pl. sheep; -hirdis, 42, shepherds; -cottis, 43, sheep-cotes.

scheitis, 40, sheets. scheortar, 75, adj. shorter.

schleref, 95, sheriff. schen, 105, showed, vb. p. of

schau. schir, 88, sir.

schirefdome, 103.

schort, 36, adj. short.

schort, 134, vb. shorten; p. schortit, shortened.

schot, 131, shot.

schouris, 58, n. pl. showers.

schutis, 123, vb. pushes.

sciens, 6, science.

Scipion, 29, Scipio.

scisma, pl. -as, -es, 160, schism. scoir, 50, score.

scraipe, 12, scrape.

scripulus, scrupulus, 163, scruscroggis, 20, low stunted bushes. scule, sculis, 13, school, -s. scurge, 26, scourge. Secilie, 4, Sicily. secretar, 117, secretary. sedicius, 172, sedetione, 90. se, see, vb. see; p.t. sau, p.p. sene. see, 12, seye, 52, sea; seeburde, 194, sceyburde, 91; seye syde, 60. see volue, 40, sea-wolf. sege, 77, (Fr. siege) seat. seggis, 42, 67; sedges, but in Scotland the name is applied to the Yellow Waterflag (Iris pseudacorus). seicle, 4, (Fr. siecle) age, century. seid, 186, seed. seige, 5, s. see (Fr. siege). seige, 6, n. siege. seigis, 90, vb. besieges. seik, 12, vb. seek, p. socht. seik, 164, adj. sick; seiknes, 24. selcht, 60, n. seal (the animal), A.S. seolh. self, the, 11, itself. sellit, 126, 72, vb. p. sold. sempeternal, 19, eternal. sen, adv. 10, prep. 2, since; sen sine, sen syne, 95, since then. senat, senaturis, 44. senate. send, -e, 87, 96, 30, 11, vb. p.t. & p.p. sent. sene, 20, p.p. seen. Seneque, 140, Seneca. sens, 83, n. sense, meaning. entens, 101, opinion, judgment, 69, sense. separat, vb. p. 173, separated.

septemtrional, 48, north. sepulture, 5, grave. seremons, 7, ceremonies. serment, 136, (Fr.) oath. serpens, 20, 28, (Fr.) n. pl. serpents. seruand, 11, seruitour, -ur, -uir, 117, servant; seruitude, 19. seuerite, 9, severity. seuyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh. sex, 6, six; sext, 35, sixth; sexten, 93, sixteen. seye, 40, sea. seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. scel). seyndil, 130, seldom. sic, 13, 83, such. siklyik, 27, in like manner, similarly, likewise. sillab, -is, 16, n. syllable, -s. sillie, 102, weak, feeble. siluyr, 20, 37, silver. sing, 37, n. sing, pl. singis, singnis, 36, 50. singulair, 72, separate, individual. sirop, 67, syrup. Sirrie, 12, Syria. sistir, 136, gen. sister's. Sithia, 81, Seythia. sittand, 16, sitting. situat, 57, vb. p. situated. skail, 27, to skatter. skalis, 37, scales. skant, 156, adj. scarce. skattir, 27, scatter. skaytht, 60, (A.S. scæððe) scathe, injury. sklanderous, 161, scandalous. sklandyr, 126, -irs, 183, slander. sklauis, 92, (Fr. esclaues) slaves.

skonnis, 43, flat cakes of wheat or rye; usage distinguishes flour skonns, barley banno's, oat cakes. skrech, 39, shriek, screech. skynnis, 145, skins. skyrl, 40, scream, shrill cry. sla, 35, 102, 145, slay, strike; p.t. sleu, 6, p.p. slane, 4. slangis, 41, (Ger. Schlange, a serpent) a species of cannon corresponding to the culverine. slaucht, 60, stroke, dart (A.S. slyht, sleaht, Ger. schlacht). slauchtir, 5, slauthyr, 23. sleipt, 26, vb. sleep. slep, vb. sleep; slepand, sleipand, 60, 120, sleeping. sleu, 6, slew. slop, 140, n. gap, breach. smal, 12, small. smeuk, 42, smoke. smytht, 28, 153, smith. snau, 59, n. snow. sobir, 79, sober. socht, 65, sought. socialis, 167, adj. pl. social. sodiour, 68, soldier. soir, 76, sore. soldartis, 42, soudartis, 90, soudiours, 121, sodiours, 68, soldiers. solempnit, 121, solemnit, 10, solemn. solist, 9, adj. solicitous, anxious; vb. to solicit, p.t. solistit, 110, solistnes, 32, eagerness. solitair, solitar, 9, (Fr.) solitary. some, 11, n. sum. sone, 78, soune, son. sone, 47, soune, sun. sophistaris, 183, sophists. sophistic, 137, adj. wise, skilful.

sopit, 37, 68, (L. sopitus) drooping, drowsy. sorseris, 168, sorcerers. sort, of this, 17, 114, in this way, de ce sorte. soudartis, 90, soudiours, 121. See Soldartis. souerane, 9, sovereign. soune, 53, 147, (A.S. sunne) sun. soune, 137, (A.S. sunu) son. soune, 68, (A.S. sweofn) swoon, sleep. sourakkis, 67, sorrel-leaves (Rumex acetosa). sourd, 10, sourde, 26, sword. sourkittis, 43, a species of clouted cream, a pastoral dish. southt, 48, south; southyn, 60, southern, southtest, 61. spacier, 38, to walk (L. spatiari, It. spaziare, Ger. spazieren). Spange, 5, Spangge, 30, Spain; Spangard, 131, Spaniard. sparme, 67, n. spermata. sparrou, 39, sparrow. Spart, 116, Sparta. specefeit, 35, specified. speik, spek, 95, speak; spekand, 108, spekend, 22, speikand, 9, speaking; p.t. spak. speir, 15, (A.S. spýrian) vb. ask, inquire; speris, p. sperit, 143, inspere, 46, speris, 143, sphere, -s. speritual, -utual, 45, spiritual; sperutuality, 161, spirituality, clergy. sperk, 144, n. spark. speyde, 66, spade. speyr, 14, spear. spoulze, 97, spulze, 89, (O.Fr.

espouille) spoil.

spouse, 24, vb. espouse,

spreit, 7, spretis, 37, (Fr. esprit) spirit, -s; spretit, 181, spirited. spulze, 89, spulzee, 23, spoil; spulzeit, -zit, 75, 101, spoiled, plundered. spune, 43, spoon. spyis, 98, spies; spyit, 11, spied. spylt, 60, spilt, 70, spoiled. stablit, 19, (Fr. establit) established. stait, 8, staittis, 103, n. state, -s. standant, 20, pr.p. standing. stane, stanis, 20, stonis, stone, -s; stanet, 79, stoned. stannirs, 39, "rough projecting stones on the sea shore, banks of rivers," &c. L. statut, vb. p. 9, 189. steddyngis, 123, steding, 168, a farm house and outhouses. stede, in the, 73, instead, in the place of. steif, 40, stiff. steil, n. 163, steel. steil, vb. steal. steirburde, 40, starboard. stendling, 66, leaping with long strides. sterk, 29, 137, (A.S. stearc) strong. sternis, 30, stars. stertland, 37, starting, darting. stikkit, 27, stabbed. stirril, 70, sterile. stoppit, 75, stopt. stou, 41, vb. stow, place. stoytene salis, 42, studding-sails. straik. 87, -is, 26, n. stroke, blow. straik, 60, vb. p. struck. strait, 125, strict. strak, 120, vb. p. struck. straynge, 3, 4, strange, 24.

strey, 138, n. straw (A.S. streaw). strik, 24, 94, vb. pr. strike; p.t. straik, strak ; p.p. strykkin, 92. strvnth. vb. strengthen, strinthit, 137, strynthis, 95. stryntht, 10, n. strength; strynthy, 151, strengthy, strong. stude, 98, vb. p. stood. stupefact, 6, stupefied. suak, 41, a flat blow, a sudden pull. suallou, 39, n. swallow. suanis, 39, n. swans. subdieu, 90, vb. subdue. subjeckyt, subjeckit, 106, 171, p.p. subjected. subtel, 182, adj. subtile. subuertione, 20, n. overthrow. succeid, 72, to result, come down, p. succedit, 155. succumb, vb. to crush, overpower, p. succumbit, 1. succur, 145, n. (Fr. sucre) sugar. succur, 174, vb. succour, p. succurrit. 4. sueit, 7, suet, 123, sweet. suelland, 39, swelling. suellieg, 24, (A.S. swélan) heat, burning fever. suerd, 87, sword. suere, 104, swear. suficiens, 26, n. sufficiency. suld, 31, vb. p. should. sum, 7, some. summond, 6, vb. to summon (O.Fr. soumander). sune, 68, adv. soon. sune, 34, 50, 145, sone, 47, soune, 53, 147, #. sun. suorne, 162, sworn. supedeit, 160, cb. supplant, eradicate.

superfice, 56, surface.

superflu, 142, superfle, superfleu, 170, superfluous.

suppedit, 12, 20, vb. to supplant, undermine, p.p. suppedit, 126.

supple, 1, 80, help, relief.

supportit, 143, borne with, endured.

suppreme, 158, (Fr.) vb. suppress. supputatione, 36, computation. surly, 89, surely.

suspectione, 132, suspetione, 74, 117, suspicion.

suspekit, 100, suspekkit, 13, vb. p. suspected.

suspire, 70, (O.Fr.) vb. to sigh; suspiring, 23, sighing.

suspiris, 70, n. sighs.

sustene, vb. sustain, p. sustenit, 68. sustentatione, 38, sustentan, 73, sustentene, s. sustenance.

suyne, 39, *n. sing. & pl.* swine. sycht, 9, 38, sight.

sycond, 4, second.

syde, 4, n. side.

syde, 69, adj. low, descending, sweeping the ground (A.S. sid, spacious, ample); syde goune, 70. sykkir, 90, secure, sure (Flem. seker).

syklyk, 84, syklik, 95, in like manner, similarly.

sylit, 171, (Fr. celé) concealed. syluyr, 109, n. silver.

symmyr, 37, summer.

syn, 135, sin.

syndry, 39, syndrye, 69, sundry. syne, 20, 59, 81, 121, adv. subsequently, thereafter (A.S. sf8as).

tabil, tablis, 46, table, tablet, -s. taiklene, 41, tackling; taiklit, 41, tackled.

taikyn, 51, (A.S. tácn) token, sign.

tail, 69, tail, skirt.

tail, tayl, tayle, 63, tale.

tail;ours, 162, (Fr. tailleur) tailors. tairgis, 42, targets.

tak, 9, vb. take; takkis, 3, takkyng, 175; p.t. tuk, tuik; p.p. tane, 6, 29, taken.

takkaris, 177, takers, captors.

takkis, 123, n. tacks, leases.

takyn, 68, taikyn, 51, (A.S. tácn) s. token, sign.

tald, 64, 124, (A.S. tælde) vb. p. told.

Tales, 171, Thales.

tane, 6, 29, 84, 97, p.p. taken.

tansay, 67, Tansy (Tanacsium vulgare).

tariand, 135, p.p. tarrying, waiting.

tasse, 145, tassis, 76, (Fr.) cup, -s. tauerne, 14, tavern.

teche, 14, vb. teach; teching, 10. temerair, 12, temerare, 6, (Fr.) rash.

temperance, 39, musical time. temperat, temporat, 34. tent, 48, tenth.

testife, 8, testify; testificatione, 8. tethe, 73, tetht, 124, n. pl. teeth. teynd, 168, -is, 123, n. teind, tithe (Isl. tiende, tenth).

teyris, 23, n. tears.

tha, 2, 98, 133, thai, 51, dem. those, pl. of that.

thai, 2, 6, 27, 30, 123, tha, 2, 35, pron. they. In Early Scotch the demonstrative is always tha, the pronoun thai, thay, but in the Middle Scotch the two forms are, as here, confused.

thair, 2, ther, there, pron. their.

#### GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

ir, 87, ther, there, adv. there. k, 34, n. thatch.

1, 8, 39, 88, adv. then.

em. the; used instead of nknown its, 57, theself, 11, 80. 2, 24, pron. thee.

n, pron. them; used reflect-

hemsel, 95, themself, 172.

er, 1, there, 83, their.

r, there, 3; thair, 87, adv. here.

rtty, 98, thirty.

uis nek, 39, thief's neck, i.e. take him to the gallows', the cry attributed to the lapwing in Holland's Houlate'.

yrs, 41, "tiers or yard arms of vessel." L.

k, 58, thick.

r, 6, these, pl. of this.

thirli, vb. to enslave, enthral; thirlit, 93, thirlage, 93, thraldom.

thocht, n. & p.p. thought, thochtis, 7.

thole, 14, 24, (A.S. polian) to endure, suffer.

Thomaris, 81, Tomyris.

thoundir, 59, thunder.

thrau, 121, vb. throw.

thre, num. three; thresum, 131, three in company, triple, a triplet.

thretten, 184; threttyne, 80, thirteen.

thretty, thertty, 5, 53, thirty.

thrid, 23, 86, 96, third.

thring, 19, vb. (A.S. pringan) to press, thrust, crush. throt, 77, n. throat.

throu, 87, through, 57, through, 1, 9, (A.S. thurh) prep. through.

thyng, -is, 7, thing, -s.

thynk, vb. think; p. thocht; thynk schame, 151, feel ashamed.

thyr, thir, 23, 100, dem. these, pl. of this.

tideus, 62, tedious.

til, 3, tyl, 6, 84, prep. to; used before a vowel, while to is used befor a consonant: til, tyl, with the infi ilive, tyl adhere, 6, tyl occur, 58.

tile-stanis, 59.

tint, 80, p.p. lost. See tyne. tirduf, 42.

tirit, 34, p.p. tired.

tirran, 91, (Fr. tyran) tyrant; tyrranrye, 75, tyranny.

tissue, 69, (Fr.) p.p. woven.

titil, 2, titillis, 167, title, -s.

titlene, 38, the hedge sparrow, or little bird which constantly attends the cuckoo; "As grit as the gouk and the titlene." Isl. titlingur, a small bird; Sw. tyta and göktyta.

togiddir, 82, togydder, 12, 25, togidther, 136.

tong, 14, 94, tongue.

tother, tothir, the, 42, 70, (A.S. pat over, O.E. thet other, the-tother) that other, the other.

touart, 3, toward.

toune, 4, tounis, 87, town, -s.

tour, 20, tower.

tourettis, 21, turrets.

trachlit, 68, p.p. bedraggled, dishevelled.

In come twa flyrand fulis with a fond fair; The tuquheit, and the guckit gouk, and zede hiddie giddie, Rwischit bayth to the bard, and ruggit his hare; Callit him thris theris nek to thraw in a widdie.

tracteit, 6, treatise. traductione, 10, translation. traison, 105, trason, 14, trakison) treason; traisonablye, 72. traland, 70, p.p. trailing, dragging. trans, 123, n. trance. translatit, 17, translated. tre, 78, n. tree, wood. treist, 27, vb. trust. treit, 5, tret, 92, treat, entreat; treittis, 48, p. tretit, 3, trettit, 94. trest, 79, n. trust. treu, 17, true; treutht, 38, truth. tribil, 75, trouble, tribulation. tributaris, 146, tributaries. tripla, 37, triple. trompet, 14, (Fr.) trumpet. trone, 19, (Fr.) throne. tropheum, 149, trophy. trossis, 41, (Fr.) the small round blocks in which the lines of a ship trouis, 74, vb. trust, believe. trublis, 57, vb. trouble, p.t. trublit, 27, 33. trump, 66, Jew's harp. trymmyl, 23 (L. tremulo), tremble. tryumphand, 20, triumphing. tua, 5, two. tuechit, 39, also tuquheit, n. the pee-weet, or lapwing. tueit, 39, twit, twitter. tuelf, 50, twelf. tuike, 94, tuk, 79, tuke, 13, 57, vb. p. took. tuist, 37, = quist, a twig, a bending branch. tumland, 39, p.p. tumbling. turdions, 66 (Fr. tordions). turkes, 10, pincers, nippers. turtil, 39, turtle dove.

tyl, 6, tyll, 7, prep. to. See til. tyme, 9, n. time. tyne, 3, 27, 69, 83, (Isl. tine) vb. to lose; p. tynt, 12, 30, 83. vacatione, 8, vocation, calling. vagatione, 111, (Fr.) wandering. vaig, (Fr. vaguer) to wander; p. t. vagit, 111. vailgeant, 3, valiant; -nes, 6, valour. vaist, vb.; p.t. vastit, 97, wasted. vait, vb. to know, wit, 14, 32, 97, thou vait, 126, thou knowest. vald, vb. p. of vil, would, 4, 15, 29, 79. valeis, 110, valeyse, 170, valleys. Valis, 85, 94, Wales. valk, vb. to wake (M.Sc. wauk); p.t. valknit, 92, wakened; pr. p. valkand, 6, 37, 60, waking, awake (M.Sc. wankan', weaykan'). vallis, 20, walls. vallis, 39, (A.S. weal, Ger. welle) waves (Gaw. Douglas has wallis, waws). van, 64, 172, vb. p.t. of vin, won. vand, 23, wand. vane, 14, vain. vanhap, 72, misfortune, unhap. vantis, 7, wants. vantounly, 37, wantonly. vaye, 72, way. var, 11, 87, vb. p. were. var, 57, 140, adj. & adv. comp. worse. var, 125, adj. ware, aware. vardan, 103, warden. varld, 5, world; varldly, 21. varly, 101, warily. varme, 58, warm. varrok, 39, the hoarse cry of the

carrion crow.

## GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

, was, naris, 82, soothsayers. nd it. 58. Watling ilky Way. ., 33, water. wear on; pl. vaupynis, veaponshaws, reviews armen men. ris, 87, others. 3, we. at, 21, weight. lir, 56, 41, 59, vedthir, eather. ou, 3, widow. veil, 1, well, weal; veilfair, 100, -fare, 71, -fayre, 82, welfare. eird, 64, weird, destiny, fate (A.S. wyrd). veltht, 19, 170, wealth, wellbeing. vemen, 11, 67, women. vendicatife, 101, -atyue, 177, vindictive. venesum, 28 (? for venemsum or venemus), venomous. venques, -queis, vb. vanquish; p. venquest, 12, venqueist, 4, vencust, 99. venquesair, 149, conqueror. ventositeis, 67, flatulence.

vepit, 25, vb. p. wept.

verite, 14, (Fr.) n. truth. verk, -is, 3, 37, n. work, -s; vermanlumis, 69, workmen's tools; verkmenschipis, 69, workmanship. vermeil, 37, (Fr.) vermilion. verray, 9, 26, 61, verra, 121, 125, very, truly (Fr. verai, erai). verst, 69, 140, worst (M.Sc. warst). vertu, 2, (Fr.) virtue; verteus, -onse, 2, virtuous. verye, 37, weary. veschel, 76, 145, n. sing. & pl. vessel, -s. vestin, 61, western. Vestmureland, 63, Westmoreland. veye, 40, 137, vb. weigh. veynde, 40, vb. wind. veyr, 2, -is, 15, n. war, -s. veyr, veir, 96, vb. to wear. veyra, 40, a sea cheer, "ware a'!" veyton, 67, the whitton tree or water elder. victore, 4, n. victory. victuelis, 25, victuals. viddeful, -fullis, 41, one deserving to fill a widdy or halter, a gallow's bird. vidthrid, 69, p.p. withered.

vil, 3, vb. will; p. wald.

vild, 20, wild.

'Watling Street is usually taken as the Roman Way from Dover by London to Chester, but incorrectly; in reality "the Watling Street extended from Kent to the Firth of Forth."—Annals of England, Oxford, 1865. In the North, the name has always been borne by the portion of this way, which passes by Chester-le-Street, and Street House on the Cheviots, to Edinburgh, and is termed in some of the earliest documents in the "Liber de Melros," Street. The metaphorical application of the word to the Milky Way occurs in Chaucer's House of Fame, ii. 431, and Gawain Douglas's Virgil, Encados, Bk. iii.:—

"Of every sterne the twynkling notis he,
That in the still heuin moue cours we se,
Arthurys hufe, and Hyades, betaikning rane,
Syne Watling Strete, the Horne, & the Charle wane,
The feirs Orioun with his goldin glaue."

vilite, 170, (Fr. vileté) vileness. vindo, -is, 148, window, -s. violens, 3, violence. violet, vb. p. 136, violated. vire, 41, ? wire. virk, 135, vb. work, virkis, 21; p. vrocht. virmet, 67, (A.S. wermod, Ger. Wermuth) wormwood. virmis, 67, (A.S. wyrmas) worms. virreis, 136, vb. worry; p. virreit, worried. vist, 40, vb. p. wist. visye, 13, vb. to visit; visiand, 38, visiting. vit, 30, n. wit, knowledge. vitht, 3, vytht, 5, prep. with. vlgar, 128, -e, 7, vulgar, common. vlye, 161, (Fr. uyle, huile) oil. vmbre, 56, (Fr. ombre) shadow. vmquhile, 2, formerly, once on a time, whilom. vnctit, 30, 120, (O.F. oinct, unct) p.p. anointed. vndir, 3, 93, under. vndirstandin, 29, p.p. understood. vniuersal, 1, universal. voce, 24, -is, voice, -s. vod, 57 (A.S. wód), mad (M.Sc. wud, wulk). voffis, volfis, volffis, 2, wolves (M.Sc. wouffs). voful, 68, woful. vol, 59, n. wool. volfe, 63, volue, 60, voluis, 73, wolf, -ves. vollage, 22, (Fr.) fleeting, transient. vome, 67, vb. (Fr.) to vomit. vondit, 121, wounded.

vordis, 9, words.

vorne, 28, p.p. worn. vou, 41, wow! an interjection of surprise. voyaige, 4, journey, expedition. voymbe, 33, voyme = wayme, 60, womb. (In N.E. Scotvran, 39, wren. land called the vran, vrannie.) vrang, 83, 87, wrong; vrangle, 103, wrongly; vrangus, 80, wrongvreit, 116, vryit, 96, n. writing, writ. vrit, vrite, vryit, 14, 31, 37, 96, vb. write; vritis, 31; p.t. vrit, 16, 31, 163, vreit, 116, wrote (M.Sc. wrait); p.p. vrytin, 7, vritin, 31, vrityn, 36, vrityne, 24, written. 69, vb. p. of virk, wrought, worked. vsit, 5, used. vsurpatouris, 80, usurpers. vtensel, 145, n. sing. & utensil, -s. vthir, 30, vthyr, 26, other; pl. vthirs, vtheris, 140, used absolutely: but also before a noun, as vtheris grit captans, 108; reciprocally contrar vthirs, 58, 25, = each other, one another, as in M.Sc. vtilite, 47, (Fr.) utility, use. vulgaris, 9, 56, 142, adj. pl. the vulgar people, commons. vyfe, vyfis, 24, 92, wife, wives. vyild, 2, 39, wild. vvise, 16, adj. wise. vyit, 64, (A.S. wit) blame. vynd, 61, wind; vynduart, 42, windward. vyne, 57, wine. vyntir, vintir, 52, winter. vyt, 14, wit, wits. vytches, 168, witches.

vytnes, 6, witness.

#### GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

son ved insday, 168, Whitm We day. without; vythtin, hout. rithin. ea, 44, Ida. 1 9, idle, -nes, 8. , 14, idiot. ., 74, 143, for bis, this. This the on instance in which the r the thorn or th, so e of y common in S entury, is four the Con gyn, -e, 47 t, 7, imag

rysie, 146, hypocrisy.
and, 85, Ireland.
fen, 10, yrne, 28, n. iron.
Ysaye, 23, Isaiah.
Ysicrata, 3, Isicrata.
ysope, 67, hyssop.
Ytalie, 5, Ytalye, 11, Italy.
Ytaliens, 159, Italians.

, imagined.

age, 11, image.

3allou, 41, (A.S. 3ealew) yellow.

3e, 3, 72, 73, pron. nom. ye, you. zeid, 159, vb. p. of ga, gang, went, yode (A.S. eode, O.North. geeade, M.Sc. geade, gaed). seil, 6, zeal. 3eir, 8, 3ers, 3eris, 105, year, -s. zelaturs, 76, (Fr.) zealots, zealous 3elpit, 39, vb. p. yelped. zenyth, zenytht, 50, zenith. -:+ 3, vet. you ic, 48, zodiac. 30ik, 101, 30ilk, 31, (A.S. 300c) ce, 104, York. 30ng, 3, young. 30u, 74, pron. obj. you. 30ue, 12, 30uis, 66, ewe, -s (A.S. eowu). zoue mylk, 42, ewe milk. zoulit, 39, vb. p. howled (M.Sc. voicled). 3our, 1, 73, your.

southed, 30, southeid, 117, n.

zouris, 90, yours.

youth.

# INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

# IN TEXT, APPENDIX, AND INTRODUCTION.

Accusation of the Nobles and Gentlemen, 143, lviii.

Acknowledgments, Editor's, cxviii.

Acteon and his dogs, 156.

Adam and his successors all labourers, 128; the root of all nobility, 155.

Advocates' Library copy of Complaynt, xviii, xix.

Agathocles, son of a potter, 129; proud of his origin, 151.

Albion, earliest name of Britain, App. 207.

Alcibiades, 83.

Alexander the Great, his ambition, 81; and Darius, 107.

Alliterative passages of Monologue, xxxii.

Alterations in original edition, xxi.

Amasis II., ordinance of, 8.

Ambiguous prophecies and oracles, 83, xxxviii.

Analysis of Complaynt, xxiii.

Anchises lamenting Troy, 185.

Ancient Romans fond of rural life, 44.

Animals, their cries, 39, xxxii; defend their young, 73.

Answer of Dame Scotia to the Commons, 143, lvi.

Antiochus and Hannibal, 12.

Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jews, 75.

Antipodes defended, 51.

"Antiquary, The," on Complaynt, xviii, sote.

Antonius, Duke of Calabria, 4.

Antony, Mark, 25, 181.

Apollo, oracles of, 83, 84; a shepherd, 43; name of planet Mercury, 54.

Apology for using domestic Scots language, 16, xxv.

Appendix documents, 189, cxix.

Aristotle quoted, 10, 12.

Armorial bearings, 156.

Artillery, kinds of, 41, lxxi.

Assured Scots, 74, 135, xxxvii, xlix.

Assyrians a scourge of God, 27.

Astrological influences, 56.

Astronomical discoveries of Seth, 46.

Astronomy, first studied by shepherds, 46; treatise on, 47.

Athens, fall of, 21.

Augustine, St, and the Antipodes, 51.

Augustus Cæsar and Rhymirables, 105; and the double-faced shoemaker, 182.

## INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

rse on the state ), xxvii; dream of OCOURE ne Scot rities d in Complaynt, ii, ship of the Complaynt, cı-cxvi. rice of the Scotch, lii, 111.

bylon, ruin of, 21; a scourge of God, 28. win, king of Jerusalem, 4. ol, assisted Edward I., 80. ds and Tales, list of, 63,

nnockburn, battle of, 97. rians defined, 106. s of Ayr, 93, 107.

Basit Sultan, assassinated, 131. Berwick, 80, 109.

Bessus, treachery and destruction of, 121.

Betraval of Scottish counsels to England, 109, lii.

Bibliography of the Complaynt,

Black Jacobin Friar, treason of, 121.

Black Parliament, 93, 103.

Blood of Nobles no better than that of Commons, 129.

Boccaccio, his famous women, 2; his book of the ruin of nobles, 81.

Bodrugan alias Adams, Epitome, xv, xxxix, xliii, exxi; App. 247.

Boethius, De Consolatione, 152.

Book put forth by English orators, 82, xxxviii.

Border thieves and reivers, 74, 179, xxxv, l.

Borrowing Days, 38, and Glossary. Bright, H. B.'s copy of Com-

playnt, xviii.

Britain, its name, 82, App. 199, 213, 250; addressing her children,

British Museum copies of Complaynt, xvii-xix.

Bruce, his struggles, 80.

Brutus, Junius, 136.

Brutus, the Trojan, legend of, 82, xxxviii-xlii; App. 199, 214, 250. Bucephalus and his brother horse, 151.

, Abacuc, his Rolment of warts, xxvii.

Cadmus, founder of Thebes, 20. Cæsar slain with penknives, 26. Caiaphas and his prophecy, 83.

Cancellations of the original edition, xxi, xxxiii, xxxviii, xlvii, lii, lx, lxiv.

Cannæ, battle of, 113.

Canon law quoted, 160, 164, 165, 183, 184, 185.

Capua, revolt of, 113.

Cardinal de Guise, 5.

Carion's computation of the end of the world, 35, 36, xxix.

Carthage, ruins of, 22.

Cato the Censor fond of husbandry, 44.

Cato the younger, his descent,

Caudine Forks, 98.

Causes of the decay of Monarchies, 19.

Chalmers, George, his copy of the Complaynt, xviii.

Charles, duke of Burgundy, 4.

Charteris, Henry, on oppression of the poor, lv.

Cheers and sea-cries, 39, lxix.

Cicero, of humble origin, 129; neutral in the civil wars, 183; his invectives against Antonius, 139; quoted: de Finibus, 11, 72, 186; de Divinat., 138; de Offic., 9, 185; de Oratore, 12; Epistolæ, 163; Parad., 10; pro Font., 138; pro Roscio, 12; Philipp., 30; Tuscul., 73. Cincinnatus fond of the plough,

Circles of the sphere, great, 49; small, 50.

Circumstances giving rise to the Complaynt, vii, xv.

Cirillus and the bundle of twigs, 172.

City life, disadvantages of, 45. Claudius Nero and L. Salinator,

174.
Cleopatra grieving for Mark

Antony, 25.

Clergy. See Spirituality.

Comet, its sundry shapes and mischievous influences, 58.

Commons, ignorance and incapacity of, 139, lvi.

Conspiracies formed by the great, 131.

Conspirators always punished, 113.

Constantine of British descent, App. 212.

1 Corinthians xiv., 30.

Cosmography defined, 46; treatise on, 47.

Crab and her young ones, 159.

Cries of Animals, 39, xxxii.

Crossus and the oracle, 83.

Cyrus, death of, 81; and Crossus, 153.

Cyvoesi Myrddin, xlii.

Dame Scotia, vision of, 68; her dress, 68, xxxiv; description of her three sons, 70, xxxv; her reproach of her sons, 72, xxxv; cites the case of lands delivered from tyranny, 75, xxxviii; shows that

the English kings are pretenders, 85, xlviii; blames the familiarity between English and Scotch on the Border, 106, li; answers her youngest son, the Labourers, 137, lvi; reproves the nobles, 143, lviii; rebukes the Spirituality, 157, lx; exhorts her sons to combine, 165, lxvi; personification of, suggested by Harrysone, cxx.

Dances, kinds of, xciii.

Dance-tunes, list of, 66, lxxxvii.

Darius of Persia, and the poor man, 7; invades Greece, 78; secretly assists both Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 187; tries to buy off Alexander, 106.

David lamenting Absulom, 25; slaying the Amalekite, 119; slaying Rechab and Baanah, 120; was a shepherd, 43.

Debatable Lands, 74, xxxv.

Demetrius lamenting Antigonus, 26.

Demosthenes, 129.

Dervis assassinating Sultan Basit, 131.

Deuteronomy xxviii., 23, 24, 28. Dew, its formation, 59.

Dialect of the Complaynt, cii.

Difference of character between Scotsmen and Englishmen, 107, li.

Dioclesian, rural life of, 44.

Diomedes and his horses, 156.

Dionysius and the old woman of Syracuse, 134.

Discord among the successors of Alexander and the Romans, 173.

Discord in Scotland, 173.

Diurnal of Occurrents quoted, l, lv, lix, lxv.

Dog-star, and its influences, 57.

Douglas, Gawain, his apology for using the vulgar tongue, xxvi.

Duan Albanach, its Brutus legend, xxxix.

Ecclesiastes ii., 170.

Ecclesiasticus viii., xi., 22; x., 152; xvii., 102.

Eclipses, theory of, 56.

Edward I. crowned at Berwick, 80; at the Barns of Ayr, 93, xlix; cites the Brutus legend, xli.

Edward II. and Friar Conraldus, 96; at Bannockburn, 97; fate of, 86.

Edward IV., 86.

Edward VI., Dedication to, 248. Emilius Paulus slain, 113.

Empedocles and Epicurus on the shape of the world, 33.

England and Scotland to be under one prince, 85, xliv, xlvi; to be conquered in turn by Danes, Saxons, Normans, and Scots, 85, xlvii.

English assurance, 74, 135, xxxvii, xlix.

English, The, ravening wolves, 2; hold much of Scotland after Pinkie, 23, xiv, xxxvii; are borreaus and hangmen, 27; chased out of France, 79; usurped Scotland under Edward I., 79; credit the prophecies of Merlyne, 82; contrasted with the Scotch, 107, li; are more Saracens than Christians, 164, lxiii; never seek peace at once with Scotland and France, 185.

Epistle to the Queen's Grace, 1, xxiii.

Equivocal Responses, 83.

Erratum, exvii.

Esther delivered the Jews, 2. Euripides, 129.

Exactions of the landlords, 123, liv.

Exhortacion to the Scots to conforme themselves to the alliance of England, App. 201.

Expenditure of the nobles on horses and dogs, 155, lx. Extortions of the nobles, 143, liv, lix.

Fabius, conduct of, when under suspicion, 180; and Munitius, 175. Fable of the Crab and her Young, 159.

Familiarity between English and Scotch on the Border, 106.

Ferdinand of Spain assassinated, 131,

Ferrand, Earl of Flanders, and the Augur, 84; tale of, Ixxiii.

Feuds among the Scotch, 173.

Florentines and the Emperor Henry, 122.

Flowers and herbs, names of, 67, xevi.

Foreign conquerors always cruel, 93.

Fortune a pagan doctrine, 22.

Four Great Monarchies, 21.

France, 3.

French influence on language of Complaynt, civ; League, viii, lii, cxx, App. 228.

Galloway invaded by the English Warden, 103.

Gathelus and Scota, legend of, xlii, App. 222.

Genealogy of Mary of Guise, 3.

Genesis ii., 152; xviii., 152.

Gentle rank an accident, 148. Gentleman, description of, 144.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, his Brutus legend, xl; cites Merlin's prophecies, xliii; followed by Bodrugan, App. 2.

Germans, the ancient, 146.

Germany, the home of sects and schisms, 106.

Gideon's deliverance of Israel, 77. Gildas quoted, App. 208, 213.



Gladius Delphicus described, 10. Godfrey de Bouillon, prowess of, 3. Golden Age, 144-5; its occupa-

tions, 43.

Grenville copy of the Complaynt, xvii, xix.

Guise, Cardinal of, 5; Duke of, 5. Guns, kinds of, 41.

Gymnosophists, 8.

Hail, how it falls, 59.

Hailes, Lord, on the Complaynt, cxvi.

Hannibal and Antiochus, 12; at Cannæ, 113; in Italy, 174; his craft toward Fabius, 180; his death, 81.

Harleian Catalogue, xvi, cx.

Harleian copies of Complaynt, xvi. Hasdrubal, 175.

Hempe prophecy, 44.

Henry I., III., and VI., 86; Henry VII. a usurper, 86.

Henry VIII., duplicity of, 83; cruelty to Ireland and Wales, 94; treatment of the Church and the clergy, 162, lxiii; "Just Declaration" of, xv, xxxix, xliii, cxix, App. 191—206.

Henrysone, James, Scottisheman, his Exhortacion, xv, xxxix, xliii, lix, lxii, exx, App. 207—231.

Heracleon, painting a Juno, 11. Heraclitus and Democritus, 169.

Herbs and flowers, names and uses of, 67, xcvi.

Hercules, 80; slew Hydra, 161. Herenius and his two counsels, 100.

Hermes, the philosopher, 159.

Hertford's expedition into Scotland, xii, xiii, xv.

Higden, Polychronicon, 85, xlvii, li, xcv.

Hoar-frost, its origin, 59.

Holophernes overcome by Judith, 3.

Homage of Scottish to English kings, App. 200; instrument of, App. 203, 212.

Honorificabilitudinitatibus, alongtailed word, 16.

Hydra, slain by Hercules, 161.

Impossibility of Englishmen and Scotchmen living in concord, 107. Influence of the planets, 256.

Inglis, Sir James, Complaynt attributed to, eviii.

Interpolated leaves, xxi.

Intestine discord has injured Scotland more than the English arms, 165.

Iphicrates and Hermodius, 150.

Ireland oppressed by the English, 94, 95.

Iron age now prevails, 145.

Isaiah lxv., 22; iii., 23, 25, 29, 30; lix., 75.

Jacob bewailing Joseph, 25.

Jeremiah lamenting Babylon, 25. Jews had no dealings with Samaritans, 106.

Job quoted, 155.

John of England a usurper, 86. Joseph sold by his brothers, 126. Josiah's good government, 30.

Judges viii., 77.

Judith inspired against Holophernes, 3.

Jugurtha and the Romans, 109. Juvenal quoted, 151.

Kings of England all usurpers, 85, xlviii.

Labourers' Complaynt, 122, liii. Laird of Drumlanrig defeats English Warden, 103.

#### INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS.

f the Complaynt, xevi.

Lauder of the liam, his lamentation r, liv.

as icotland more severe of England, App. 253.

Thermopylæ, 78.

xvi., 23, 24, 26, 27,

Leyden. Dr John, his edition of the Coaynt, exvi; criticism of, lxvii; roduction quoted, xxx, lxix, playnt Lymnesay,

Livy, Book f., 93, 136; 1X., 97, 142.

London, 109.

Long-tailed words, 16, xxv.

Lucan quoted, 21.

Lucius Lentulus, 102.

Lucullus, rural occupations of, 44.

Lycurgus, his laws, 21.

Lyndesay, Sir D., Complaynt attributed to, exiii; apology for using vulgar tongue, xxv, xxvi; Epistle to King's Grace, xxiii; on the Border rievers, xxxv; on the labourers' complaynt, liii.

M'Gowan, J.'s, copy of the Complaynt, xviii.

Macedonians rewarded valour, 146.

I Machabees ii., 75.

Mackenzie, Dr George, account of Complaynt, cviii.

Maitland of Lethington on the border thieves, xxxvi.

Malachi ii., 157.

Marcus Marcellus regretting Syracuse, 25.

Mariners, their cries, 40, 41, lxix.

Marriage of Edward VI. and Mary Stuart, 181, xi; App. 227, 230, 240, 248. Mary of Guise, Queen Regent, xii; addressed, 1, xxiii; compared with ancient heroines, 2; with Queen Esther and Judith, 1; the virtues of her ancestors, 2—6, xxiv. Mary Stuart, a tender infant in France, 3, 29; her proposed mar-

France, 3, 29; her proposed marriage to Edward VI., 181, xi, App. 227, 230, 240, 248; suspected of the pest, lxv.

Matathias Machabæus and his sons, 76.

erlyne, the prophecies of, 82, 84, xxxviii, xliii, xlvi.

Metellus, secrecy of, 110. eteorology, 58, 60. etrodorus on the world, 33.

milky way, 58, lxxii.

Miltiades delivers Greece, 78.

Mithridates and his antidote, 80.

Monologue of the Author, 37. xvi, xxi, xxiii, xxxi; its original form, xxxii; subsequent additions to, lxviii.

Moon, motions and phases of,

Motions of the sphere, 47.

Munitius, rashness of, 177.

Musical instruments, 65, xci.

Musical terms employed, 37, 64,

Musselburgh, defeat of Pinkie near to, 22.

Mutations of Monarchies, 19, xviii.

Narcissus and Echo, 38.

Natural philosophy first studied by shepherds, 46.

Naval terms, 42, lxix.

Nennius, his Brutus legend, xl.

Neutral Scots, 74, x, 1; their double dealing, 181, lxvi; how to purge themselves from suspicion, 181, lxvi. Nineveh, fall of, 21.

Nobility, reproof of, 143, lviii.

Nobles and clergy like men in a frenzy, 124.

Nobles, exactions of, 123; sprung from labourers, 128; vices of, 155, lix.

Northumberland laid waste by the Scotch, 97.

Numa Pompilius took care of sheep-keeping, 44.

Opinions as to duration of the world, 32, xxiii.

Orders of knighthood, 148.

Pamphlets put forth by the English, 82, xv, xxxviii, exix, App. 189.

Paris a shepherd, 44.

Pastoral scenes, 42, 43, xxxii, lxxii.

Paton, G.'s, copy of Complaynt, xviii.

Patriarchs all shepherds, 45.

Patten's narrative, xv, xxxix.

Pausanias slew Philip of Macedon, 131; treason and punishment of, 113.

Pavia, siege of, 84.

Peace with Scotland necessary to England, 90.

Peasant war, 5.

Perdet, an ambiguous word, 83.

Pericles, pastoral life of, 44; conduct when suspected of treachery, 179.

Peronne, siege of, 5.

Perpenna, son of a poor Greek, 129.

Perseus, Satires, 138.

Personal virtue preferable to noble genealogy, 150.

Pest, the, lxv.

Phases of the moon, 55.

Philip of Macedon, his ambition, 81.

Philiremo Fregoso quoted, 169, lxiv.

Philotes, plot of, against Alexander, 132.

Phocion tempted by Alexander, 112.

Pinkerton's criticism of the Complaynt, lxvii.

Pinkie, battle of, xiv.; imputed to Fortune, 22.

Plagues that have overwhelmed Scotland, 1, 172, lxiv.

Plato's opinion of the world, 33.

Plutarch quoted, 150, 159.

Poles of the heaven, 48; imaginary points, 49.

Polychronicon quoted, 85, xlvii. Pompeus, heroism of, 110.

Poor widow's offering in the temple, 8.

Pope's license, if wanted, 165.

Potter and clay, 19.

Praise of rural life, 43.

Priest of Peebles and his questions, 143, lvii.

Priests and Friars not to be exempt from military service, 164.

Primum Mobile, 48.

Printing of Complaynt, cvi.

Private feuds among the Scots, 178.

Prolog to the Reader, 8, xxv.

Prophecies of Merlin, &c., xlii, xlvi.

Prophecy of the English chronicles, xlvii.

Protector, the, of England and his cruelty, 81, 82, 103.

Proverb of the hearing damsel and speaking castle, 108.

Punishment of schismatics, 161. Pyrrhus and the oracle, 84. Pythagoras on the world, 32.

Queen Regent. See Mary of Guise. Quintus Curtius quoted, 107.

Rain, how produced, 58; marvels in, 59.

Register of the original edition,

Rehoboam's misrule, 30.

Rene, king of Italy, 4.

Renegade Scots in England, 1.

Reprints of Complaynt, cxxi.

Reproof of the Nobles, 143; of the Spirituality, 157.

Rodd, T., his copy of Complaynt, xviii.

Rolment of Courts, Bysset's, xxvii. Romans more indebted to oratory

than fighting, 10; defeated by Samnites, 99; rewarded valour, 168; triumphs of, 148.

Rome, overthrow of, 21.

Romulus delighted in tilling the ground, 44; law of, 159.

Rosaria lamenting Darius, 25.

Rotundity of the earth proved, 52.

Rural life lauded, 43-45.

Safe-conducts required, 107.

Sailors, their cries, 42, lxix.

Sallust lamenting the evil government of Rome, 25; de Jugurtha, 108.

Samnites and Romans, 99.

Saverne, battle of, 6.

Saxons, a term of reproach, 86, xlviii; treason of, 86; held Scotland in slavery, 91.

Schism in Christendom, 160.

Scipio's maxim, 9; later days of, 44; his ignoble son, 147.

Scotland originally a colony of England, 82, xxxii,

Scotsmen resident in England, 104, l; contrasted with Englishmen in character, 106, li; in France, App. 229.

Scott, Sir Walter, on the Complaynt of S., xviii, note.

Scottish language used by author, 16; not so copious as Latin, 17; same as English, 106, App. 239; translation into, 24, 169; account of, xevi.

Scythians rewarded valour, 147. Sea-scene, 39—43, lxviii.

Seleucus on the world, 33.

Semiramis ruined by ambition, 80.

Seneca, the tragedies of, 81; quoted, 130, 170.

Sesostris, edict of, 9.

Sheep, various names of, 66.

Shepherds at breakfast, 43; Shepherd's orison, 43, lxxii.

Ship's tackle described, 40, 41, lxix.

Shoemaker, the Roman, and his ravens, 181.

Signatures of the book, xx—xxii. Signs of Zodiac, 50.

Six great monarchies, 21.

Snow, formation of, 59.

Socrates, on the world, 33; condition of his parents, 129.

Solar system described, 53.

Solomon on too young princes, 30.

Somerset, Exhortation of, xv, cxxi, App. 237—246; on his way to Scotland, 235.

Songs, list of, 64, lxxxii—lxxxvii. Sparta past from remembrance, 21. Specimen folio, vi, exviii. Spirituality, the, reproved by Dame Scotia, 157, lx; abuses of, 158; live like cats and dogs with the nobles, 159; their vices the cause of the great schism, 160; treatment of, by Henry VIII., 161-2, lxiii: exhorted to serve in the war, 163, lxiii.

St John viii., 138.

St Luke vi., 138; xi., 166.

St Mark xiii., 8.

St Matthew vi., 32; xxiii., 36; vii., 138; xii., 166.

St Quentin, relief of, 5.

Stories and Tales, list of, 63, lxxiii—lxxxii.

Sunrise described, 30.

Suspicions against the nobles, 180.

Table of chapters, 187.

Tales and stories told by the shepherds, 63 ; lxxiii—lxxxii.

Tarquin the elder, the son of a poor merchant, 129.

Tarquin the proud and Gabini, 93. Thales on the world, 32; on the

knowledge of the gods, 171.

Thebes, decay of, 21.

Themistocles rouses the Athenians against Xerxes, 78.

Thucidides, i., 85; ii., 186; xv., 115.

Thunder, its formation, 59; curious freaks of, 60.

Tiberius Cæsar and his precaution against thunder, 60.

2 Timothy, 22.

Tissaphernes, 87.

Title of original edition, xvii.

Tomyris and Cyrus, 81.

Town-dwellers in their ignorance account shepherds to be uneducated, 45.

Treachery at work in Scotland, 109. COMPLAYNT.

Treason of the sons of Brutus,

Treason not in the power of the Commons, 130.

Treason practised in Scotland, 178, lii, lxvi.

Treaty of Concord, 168.

Triumphs granted by the Romans, 148.

Troy, fate of, 21.

Tullus Hostilius, son of a poor labourer, 128.

Tunes, list of, 64, lxxxvii, xc.

Two contraries may both be false, 183.

Typography of the Complaynt, XX, CVI.

Usurpers have a miserable end, 81.

Valerius maximus quoted, 87, 93, 98, 110, 136, 147, 148.

Varro, son of a poor flescher, 129.

Vices of the nobles, 155, lviii.

Vincentius quoted, 170.

Vîrgil, *Eneid*, vi, 35.

Vision of Dame Scotia, 68, xxxiv Voices of animals, 39, xxxii.

Vulgate, translation from, 24, xxiii

Wales oppressed by the English,

War preferable to uncertain peace,

Wars, classification of, 166-7.

Wedderburn, Complaynt attributed to, xvii, cx.

Wickedness of the clergy and nobles, 125.

Winds, account of, 60.

Wisdom of Solomon vii., 154.

World, the, near an end, 31; not composed of four elements, 34.

Xerxes, his invasion of Greece, 79; his death, 81; and Pausanias, 117. Yoke, description of, 102. Young kings a calamity, 30, viii, xxviii.

Zodiac, signs of, 50.

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